HISTORY
OF
CENTRAL ASIA

3717

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA

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Mahapandita RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Mahapaṇḍita Rāhula had the long career of a restless seeker of truth. Central Asia had always a peculiar fascination for him. For, from a hoary pre-historic antiquity, this had been the source of great race-movements and cultural diffusion and had largely to contribute to the eventual shaping of history in Europe and Asia. But, in spite of the pioneering works of Auriel Stein and others, much of this magnificent chapter in the story of mankind remained long buried under earth and are only recently dug up by the spades of the Soviet archaeologists. Rāhula was immediately drawn to this, and he was about the only scholar who could interpret and understand the new archaeological materials in the general background of a vast knowledge of varied languages and literatures. He could moreover combine everything with the personal experience of travelling extensively through this region and examining the relics first-hand.

The result is his monumental work on the history of Central Asia, immediately acclaimed with an academy-award by our Sahitya Academy. Rāhula wrote the book in Hindi and this was only to be expected of a passionate patriot like him, who always gave the highest priority to writing in one's own vernacular. Howevermuch invaluable this might have been for the development of our national languages, an English translation of such a scholarly work will always enhance the cause of international academic communication. We are grateful to Sri Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya for initially suggesting to us the idea of bringing out the book in English and to Sri Jollymohan Kaul for doing the English rendering. Dr. Mahadev Saha, an intimate associate of Rāhula himself and Sri P. N. Shastri have kindly edited the work for purposes of the present English edition under the direction of Rāhula. We take this opportunity of expressing our grateful thanks also to Mrs. Marion Barwell, and Sri Nihar Dasgupta for being kindly associated in various capacities with this work. With his own sound knowledge of the subject, Sri S. N. Khanna has rendered many a technical help. We express our thanks also to the Bihar Rastrabhasa Parisad for their kind cooperation in the present venture.

The work of translation was taken up long ago and Rāhula himself saw its completion ; but it took quite a long time to publish the book and his untimely death deprived us of the great privilege and honour of reaching him a copy of the present English edition.

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PREFACE

During my travels in Russia and Central Asia I came in direct contact with the peoples there. I wrote and translated a number of works concerning them. Then I thought of reviewing the contemporary events in their historical perspective. I realised that the history of Central Asia is closely related to our own. The Dravids, who founded Mohenjodaro and Harappa, the magnificent cities and the glorious culture of the Indus valley, had a link with Central Asia. Recent archaeological researches reveal that the Aryans had their first encounter with the Dravids in Khwarezm and not in the Indus valley. Aryans defeated them first there and only then they headed towards India. Without deserting their conquered territories, the Aryans expanded further to far off ends in all directions. That is why Indian Aryans do not refer much to their traditions and the forsaken lands. Waves after waves of Aryans merged into one in India. Then came the Greeks from Bactria, and they ruled over some portions of Bharat (India). The Shakas and Kushans followed their footsteps. Then the so called Huns or Hephtal cast their covetous eyes on India and the Turks and Muslims did the same. They all took almost the same route and they all had their roots in Central Asia. Without a knowledge of their history and culture, we do not understand our own. This idea inspired me to write this book.

I could have confined this work only to Central Asia, that is, the land bounded by China, India-Afghanistan, Iran, Asiatic Russia and the Caspian Sea. But I could not do so. History, like the river, flows in its own way, and takes a zigzag course. Therefore, I had to wander into the border lands to grasp the subject well. Well-laid-out conventions about pronouncing foreign names have not yet been established in Hindi, especially about those names, which are introduced to Indians, for the first time, through this work. The English and their pronunciation are the worst. I have particularly avoided that. The Germans are better in this respect and the Russians are the best because of their phonetic language. But even they cannot be adequate for the peculiarities of the original languages. The Mongol script has hardly one and half dozen letters. There is no difference in 'K' (क) 'G' (ग) and 'H' (ह) in that script. Kagan, Khagan, Hagan, Hakan all can be one and the same "khan", which we now use. The same difficulty arises when one pronounces the Chinese names. Besides, the printing of this book (the original, in Hindi) was interrupted for years because of unforeseen reasons and uncontrollable factors. Hence, I have not been able to spell the names uniformly. However, for this and other inaccuracies, the index should be treated as the only corrective, the author could provide at this stage.

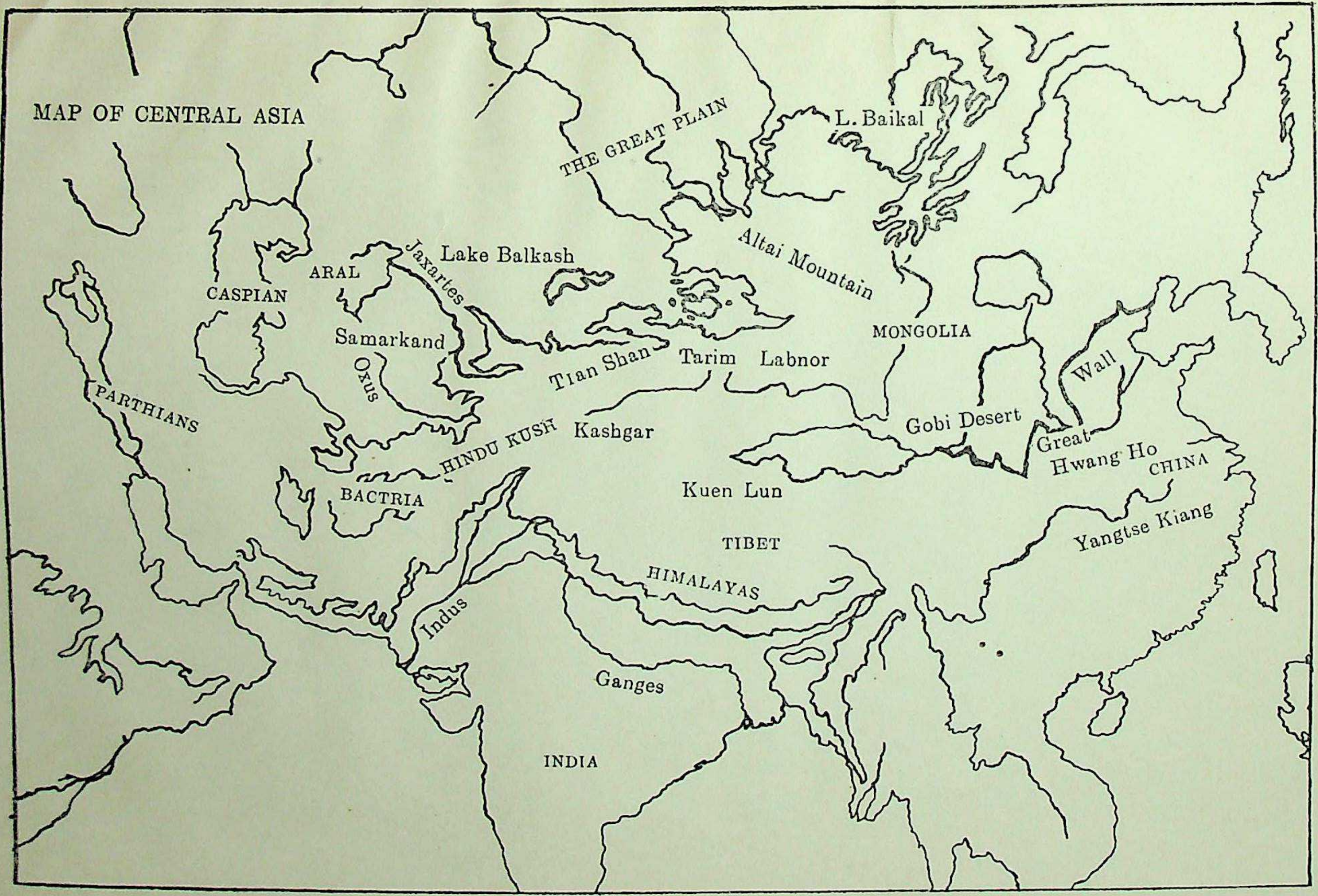
Most of the materials used in this book were collected by me during my two years' sojourn (1945-47) in Russia. There is no doubt that Russia and the Russian language are the richest sources for a history of Central Asia. Historical and archaeological research is done in Russia almost with a devotion. As a result, new materials are discovered every year. I am sorry for not going there after 1947. But Professor Tolstoff and Dr. Bernshtom have been very kind to me. In my reconstruction of the old events in Central Asia, they have helped me immensely. Prof. Tolstoff has been the leader of many an excavatory excursion into Central Asia. His knowledge of Khwarezm, Karakum and Kijilkum is profound and astounding. About Saptanada Dr. Bernshtom's knowlege is very deep. Whenever I met or discussed with them, they never cared for their time and labour ; they wholeheartedly gave me a chance to take full advantage of their vast knowledge. I have often referred this in my *Twentyfive months in Russia.* In fact, some of my ideas were formulated as a result of my discussion with them and they have often provided substance to my imagination. Only the Soviet Historians and Archaeologists are the proper authorities to deal with this subject but they are still occupied with their researches into different areas and parts of Central Asian history. No one knows when they would write their *magnum opus* about Central Asia, in the form of a chronological history. So long it is not published and available to my people this effort will have its value.

One of the weighty reasons for my coming back to India was my desire to shape the huge mass of materials collected into this book. There in Russia I gathered about four to five hundred pounds of books. In addition to this, I made extensive notes from all the books read in the two years. My past experience raised all the doubts about publishing this book, had I continued my stay there. For the safety of the books I abandoned the shorter route to India through Afghanistan and came here *via* England.

Mussoorie
4. 6. 1956.

Rahula Sankrityayana

HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA



MAP OF CENTRAL ASIA

THE GREAT PLAIN
L. Baikal
Altai Mountain
Lake Balkash
Jaxartes
ARAL
CASPIAN
Samarkand
Oxus
MONGOLIA
Tian Shan
Tarim
Labnor
Wall
Gobi Desert
PARTHIANS
HINDU KUSH
Kashgar
Great
Hwang Ho
CHINA
BACTRIA
Kuen Lun
Yangtse Kiang
TIBET
HIMALAYAS
Indus
Ganges
INDIA

CHAPTER 1

THE BRONZE AGE

1. Characteristics of the Age

One part tin mixed with ten parts copper yields bronze. This was known to man as early as 2000 B. C. The mixture of tin and copper not only changes the colour of the metal but makes it harder also. At the present time, the tin-producing countries are Malaya, South Africa, Iran, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Spain and England (Cornwall), etc. Tin is also found in the Caucasus and in Syria. In the Caucasus, Czechoslovakia, Spain and Cornwall, tin and copper mines are found side by side. Presumably at some time or other, the copper-makers might have mixed the tin ore with the copper ore by mistake, to find that the result was a wonderful new metal—bronze. It is most likely that the copper age persisted so long in Egypt and Mesopotamia because of the general scarcity of tin. The copper articles found in the Sind Valley and Sumeria (Mesopotamia) also contain a proportion of nickel. This was not due perhaps, to any deliberate intention on the part of the makers of the metal, but may rather have been because the copper ore used in these countries came from Umma, which meant that it contained a good proportion of nickel.

With the discovery of bronze, metallurgy took a big stride forward. It marked the beginning of that great age of metals which led to the modern era in which thousands of alloys are being prepared. The Caspian Sea lies opposite the southern slopes of the Caucasus and a fairly good road leads to it from the southern side of the mountains. In the Caucasus collyrium instead of tin was used in the manufacture of bronze, while the Sumerians made use of lead. It has to be remembered that the manufacture of bellmetal, an alloy obtained by the mixing of zinc with copper, came much later, when man had already entered the Iron Age. An important difference between the settlements of the Neolithic Age and the Copper-Bronze Age is that while the neolithic settlements are self-sufficient in every respect the self-sufficiency comes to an end with the coming of the Copper-Bronze Age because metal weapons, or at least their raw materials, had to be imported from other countries.

2. The Bronze Age in Khwarezm.

The culture of Tajabagyab in the second millennium before Christ is considered to be a Bronze Age culture. The ruins of such places as Anka-Kala and Teshikkala show strong traces of this culture. The people of the time were pastoral or agricultural and they belonged to a matriarchal society. It is difficult to say anything about the nature of their villages as the building materials they used were extremely fragile. The clay vessels of this period were without handles, but were decorated with colours and with engravings which were made on them while the clay was still wet.

The culture of Amirabad belongs to the first half of the millennium B. C. This is also called the pre-iron-age culture. Here, too, the people had reached the matriarchal stage and their main occupations were pastoral and agricultural. The remains of Janbaskala represent this culture.

3. The 'Saptanada' Semi Rechye or (Land of Seven Rivers)

Saptanada province also entered the Bronze age at about the end of the second millennium before Christ. It was called the Land of the Seven Rivers because it contained the Tuls, Chu, Ili and four others. Possibly its original name was something like Saptasindhu (Seven Rivers) and the Russians, translating from the Turkish and Mongol languages, call it nowadays Semi Rechye, which has the same meaning. A great advantage enjoyed by this region was the existence of the neighbouring copper or gold mines of Altai. Even today the factories of Karanda to the north of Lake Balkash are the biggest in the Soviet Union.

A number of ancient towns of this region have recently been dug up, chief amongst them being Taraz (Jambul), Sarig and Balasagun (both of which are in the Chu (Water) Valley in Khirgizistan) and Koiluk (in the Ili Valley). The great Chu Canal, constructed in 1942, was taken across the sites of these ancient and long-abandoned settlements and thousands of relics were found while the excavations were being made. The delta of the Chu and Ili was the centre of the Bronze Age and the people of the area occupied themselves with fishing, agriculture and hunting.

(i) Androniya : The Bronze Age culture of the Andronians, Karasuks and Minusunians of the North also reveals that they lived by hunting, fishing and agriculture. The Andronian culture is considered to belong to the period 1700 to 1200 B.C. It spread from the Yenesi River to the Urals. Many objects have been found near Ust Araba which have close links with the Androniyan culture. The clay vessels were engraved with geometrical designs.

(ii) Karasuk (1200 to 800 B. C.) : In this period we find traces of the Karasuk culture in the North. A large number of graves have been found north-west of the Altai range which contained articles similar to those of Androniya.

(iii) Minusun : We find traces of another culture during this period which is called the Minusun culture. A large number of graves representing this culture have been found where bronze ornaments, knives, swords, axes and other things lie buried with the human skeletons. This extended as far as the banks of the Yenesi river. It is probable that the centre of this tribe was situated North-East of Central Asia and that it had contacts with the Khakasi people near Lake Baikal.

Just about the time when the above-mentioned three civilisations were dying out, there is clear evidence of the Scythians in the North. This leads one to suppose that the tribes referred to above were the ancestors of the Scythians. In the Neolithic and pre-Neolithic Ages, not only in the South but in the North, we find traces of the Munda-Dravid race right up to Sinkiang (the Terim Valley). From the seventh and eighth centuries B. C. we find that the Scythian branch of the Indo-European race predominates in Central Asia. It would not be surprising were we to find that it was these three tribes which put an end in the Bronze Age to the domination of the Munda-Dravid race in Central Asia and that, taking its place, they appeared in the Northern areas and Sinkiang as the Scythians and in the Southern regions as the Aryans. It would also appear that the Indo-European race did not exist in Central Asia before the middle of the third millennium B. C. On this supposition it seems reasonable to conclude that a branch of this race entered India in the middle of the second millennium before Christ.

4. In Anau

Southern Kurgan in Anau is a relic of the Copper-Bronze Age but we still find a predominance of copper over bronze at this stage. About the people too it cannot be said clearly whether they belonged to the Munda-Dravid race, like the people of the Neolithic Age, or to that of the Indo-European.

5. Races

From the middle of the Mesolithic Age to the Bronze Age we find evidence of four human races. In the mid-Paleolithic Age in the North we find the Musters in the Pyasi Bhumi (the Thirsty Land) region and the Altai region as well as in Sogdh and Tukhar (the middle Oxus valley) in the South. Remains of the man of 12,000 years ago were found in the North in Kipchiak and Saptanada and in the South in the Sir valley, Sogdh and Khwarezm (Mesolithic Age).

In the Copper Age the Munda-Dravid race predominated from Anau and Khwarezm to the Saptanada. In the Bronze Age the ancestors of the Aryans and the Scythians spread throughout the North and the South. It is not possible to say anything definite about the Musters and the men of the Mesolithic Age. It is possible that the Mesolithic man of this region was the ancestor of the Munda-Dravid race and it is also possible that he may be the ancestor of the Indo-European race of people, who, in the beginning of the Neolithic age, were forced to flee to Europe. In the latter case, the Munda-Dravid people, being of Mediterranean origin, must have entered Central Asia from the south or south-east. In the Bronze Age we find a branch of the Indo-European race returning to the land of their ancestors. It was they who gave birth to the Scythians and the Aryans. What happened to the Munda-Dravid people after the return of the Indo-European ? It is possible that, as was later to be repeated in Indian history, some of the Munda-Dravid people stayed on as slaves and were absorbed by the conquering race while those, who refused to accept slavery, fled to the unoccupied regions. We find till this day remnants of this race, which once extended from Altai to the Sinkiang in the Komis, living in the forests north of the Volga, the Estonians living on the Eastern shores of the Baltic and the Finns of Finland. At one time the entire Moscow and Leningrad regions were occupied by people whose branches we find in present times in the Estonians, the Finns and the Komis. The resemblance between the Finnish and Dravidian languages is another proof of the fact that the Finns are a branch of the Dravid race that fled to the North as a result of the conflict between the Scythian-Aryans on the one hand and the Dravids on the other. Thus, instead of calling them Munda-Dravid, we can as well call this Central Asian race of the Neolithic Age the Finno-Dravid race. Although the complexion of these Finno-Dravid people is as fair as that of the Europeans and they are golden-haired and no black hair is seen among them, yet if we see a photograph of a Komi today we feel that we are looking at a pure South Indian Dravid. They have slender figures and are short of stature.

There are ample materials for the study of Finno-Dravid anthropology, not only in India but in the Soviet Union, and we should like to draw the attention of the scholars in our country towards this subject.

CHAPTER 2

THE IRON AGE

When we enter the Bronze Age, difference between the Aryans and the Scythians in a geographical sense becomes quite clear. The Scythians of this period lived north of the River Jaxartes and the Aral Sea, while to the south lived the Aryans. The Aryans spread at first from Sogdh (Jarphasan Valley) and Khwarezm to the Hindu Kush and Khurasan Mountains, but soon went as far as the Persian Gulf and the banks of the Ganges and the Indus. We learn from Greek historians that the Scythians called the nomadic tribes that lived between the Danube and the Tyanshan "Scooth, Shaka or Scyth". However unpleasant a meaning this might have had in Greek or, being derived from it, in English, it has no such meaning in Scythian. According to the Greek writers the Scythians called themselves Skols or Sokols. Darius in his Bahistun inscriptions has called them Shaka and in this matter India has followed the Persians. Many writers try to differentiate between the Scythians living north of the Black Sea and the nomadic Shakas living north of the Jaxartes River. It is but natural that nomadic peoples spread over such vast areas should develop some differences, but we cannot accept the theory that they belonged to two different races. Greek historians of the fifth century B.C. also admitted that the nomads who spread from the Black Sea to the River Jaxartes were the same in manners and customs, in their eating habits and their clothes. Their weapons were also similar. The River Don is considered to be the boundary between the Eastern and Western Scythians.

1. Shakadvipa (The Scythian Island)

We can call that part of Eurasia which lies between the Danube and the Tyanshan-Altai mountain range and which in the beginning of the bronze age was the land of the Scythians "Shakadvipa", to use the Indian term. We can also call it Shakan-Shakanbaija using the old Persian terminology and Shakastan using the later one. But in the second century B.C. the Eastern part of Persia itself began to be called Shakastan or Shistan because it was inhabited by the Scythians or Shakas. We can call this region ancient Shakastan and, using the same terminology, can allude to the region south of the Urals and the Sir Darya (river) as Aryadvipa (Aryan Island), Aryanabaija or Aryastan. Later there was a small province in Avesta which modern historians have referred to at various times as Khorasan, Bactria, Azerbaijan or Khwarezm. Hence, to avoid confusion, it is best to refer to this region as Aryadvipa.

The distinction between Aryadvipa and Shakadvipa did not continue very long. As early as 134 B.C. the Scythians were forced to leave the eastern part of Shakadvipa and in the next three centuries the Huns were to reach the banks of the Danube and to scatter the Scythians in all directions. As a result of this offensive Eastern Shakadvipa was converted into Hundvipa, and even in the part of Shakadvipa West of the Don, the Goths and the Sarmatians (descendents of the Scythians) were forced to leave their homelands and flee northwards and westwards. We also know that the fact of the Scythians having to leave the Eastern part of Shakadvipa led to such important consequences as the destruction of the Greek Bactrian kingdom and the Greek kingdom in India. It also led to the lasting influence of the Scythians on the social and political life of India.

The difference between the Aryans and Scythians was merely this that while the one had golden hair and fair complexion the other had not. When the Indo-European people were forced to leave Central Asia towards the end of the Mesolithic Age or in the beginning of the Neolithic, either as a result of the ravages of Nature or as a result of the advent of the Finno-Dravid race (Mohenjodaro), the difference between Centum and Satum in their language had not yet appeared, nor had there been any difference between the western Indo-Europeans and the Scythian-Aryans. As no name has been definitely fixed upon for the Greek, Roman, Gothic and Celtic peoples, we shall call them the Western Indo-European peoples. All are agreed that the Indo-European peoples of Central Asia went to Europe and that this took place in the Neolithic Age. Agriculture is a characteristic of the Neolithic Age, but we do not find the same terminology for agricultural implements or grains in the Centum and Satum languages. Leaving aside the Centum language, even in the Satum languages the same terminology is not found for agricultural implements. Hence it does not seem to be correct to state that it was in the Neolithic Age that the Indo-European peoples left Central Asia, or that the differences between Centum and Satum appeared and that the Scythians and the Aryans became divided into two distinct peoples. Yet if we fix a date eariler than the Neolithic Age for these divisions, though it would seem correct philologically, certain other facts become difficult to explain. In fixing the precise time, the deserts of Central Asia can perhaps be of great help to historians.

Archaeological research in Anau and Khwarezm has proved that the Mediterranean races entered Aryadvipa, but there is no evidence of their having influenced Shakadvipa. About this time, perhaps in the Mesolithic or Neolithic

Age, the Scythian-Aryan branch of the Indo-European race succeeded in re-establishing a home in Central Asia. Here the Aryans came into contact with the Mediterranean people, similar in kind and as well-developed as the one whose remains we find in the Sind Valley and Mesopotamia. It was as a result of this contact that the Aryans were able to make a rapid enough progress to cross over from the Bronze to the Iron Age, while it was the absence of this contact that accounts for the Scythians not having been able to make the same amount of social progress. In the seventh and eighth centuries B. C., when there was an abundance of iron implements in the Aryan lands, the Scythians were still using bronze swords, spearheads and arrow-heads. Greek historians, writing about the Scythians who fought in Darius's army against the Greeks state that in the lands where the Scythians lived there was no silver or iron, hence these metals were not used by them, but because there was an abundance of copper and gold, they used bronze for their weapons and gold for decoration.

After this and prior to the attacks of the Huns, the Scythians living on the borders of the Black Sea gave up their nomadic life to a large extent and settled down to cultivation. The people of the western part of Shakadvipa however did not give up their nomadic life till the Huns drove them out. When the great soldier traveller Changkian reached their kingdom of Bactria, he found that the Scythians who were lords of a huge kingdom were still living in tents and moving with their horses and cattle from place to place for pasture. In short, they were still sticking to their nomadic ways. The nomadic tribes looked down on the settlers who took to cultivation as cowards. It was to avoid this epithet that Timur, even after becoming a world conqueror and acquiring towns like Samarkand with its huge palaces, continued to play the nomad. This playing at a nomadic life was not entirely useless, for there is no doubt that the life of the nomad fits him for that of the soldier, ever ready for battle. The only difference between the soldier and the nomad is that whereas even a free soldier has to forsake the company of his family, the nomad takes his entire family with him (old and young, men and women) and they are an inseparable part of the nomad army. Nomads can get ready for attack at a moment's notice and can, if the fortunes of war so dictate, take to flight just as readily. They find an easy prey for loot and plunder in the towns and villages of their enemies, whereas those who defeat the nomads in battle get no reward. That is why for thousands of years the nomads were unconquerable in battle and when the Chinese had repeatedly failed to repel the Hun invaders in battle, they were forced to build the Great Wall as a defence. Cyrus died in battle against the great Messagetae Nomads while his heir, Darius, who attacked the Western Scythians in 516 B. C., had cause to regret his action. The Greeks fared no better against them.

2. The Scythian People

The life of the Nomad, while it has great advantages when it comes to war and politics, is a great handicap from the social and cultural point of view. It was an indication of social stagnation that while other races crossed over to the Iron Age the Scythians continued to remain in the Bronze Age.

We know that the development of a language follows the social development of a community. Very few traces of the Scythian language have reached us and even those that have, are of the era after Christ. But it is clear from the language of their descendants that the reason why their language remains synthetic and has not become analytical is due to this stagnation of their ancestors. The language of the Indian Aryans began to change as soon as they entered India when the dental sounds hitherto unknown to the Satum people began to be used even in the Rig Veda. Whereas the basic change in our (Indian Aryan) language was completed in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. the present-day descendants of the Scythians, the Slavs (Russians and other nationalities) still use a synthetic language. In these languages the suffixes are an inseparable part of the different forms of the nouns or verbs and the use of auxiliary words is unknown to them till this day. As a result of this we find that from the point of view of language the Slav group of languages is closer to Sanskrit than any of our living languages today.

Darius was an Aryan king. Advancing through Europe along the shores of the Caspian Sea he made an unsuccessful attack on the Scythians in 516 B.C. Greek historians, quoting Scythian traditions, state that the first king of the Scythians ruled about a thousand years before this attack. There is no doubt that as long as the Scythians remained in their Shakadvipa they must have had kings. Imitating others they might have spoken of their nomad chieftains or leaders as Kings.

Women had a special place in the life of the Scythians. In fact in the fourth and fifth centuries B. C. the Scythians living east of the Don were called the Sarmatians because among them the women were all in all (Mata—Women ; Sarve-Sarva—All in all ; hence Sarvamata or Sarmata). Women not only took the place of the dead chieftains but even commanded their armies.

The manners, customs, and clothing habits of the Scythians which we find at the dawn of history had come down from very old times. Chinese and Greek writers are agreed that the main food and drink of the Scythians was meat and milk. The drinking of fresh warm blood with the meat must have been one of their common habits. We find that it was a practice amongst them to drink the fresh blood of enemies slain in battle and to use their skulls as drinking vessels. Both these practices were prevalent amongst the Huns also, although they were a Mongoloid race. One of the secrets of the great success of the Mongol soldiers of Chengis Khan was their use of horses from the backs of which they could discharge their arrows and with blood drawn from the arteries of these horses they could quench their thirst. Thus refreshed, they could continue the battle.

The marriage customs of the Scythians were also very primitive. Several brothers would share the same wife and a group of men could be considered the common husbands of a group of women—that is to say group marriage was prevalent amongst them. Just as among the Egyptian nobles the Scythian burials were performed with great pomp and splendour. By the side of the chief who had died were buried all the things he had used when he was alive, which meant not only all kinds of weapons, ornaments, food and drink, but his horses and slaves. Among the ancient Scythians it was the custom to bury their dead, especially their chieftains. Their graves have been found to the north of the Caucasus and even in the Altai Mountains. Even in the graves of commoners it was considered important to bury cooking utensils as well as the food and drink. The continuance of this practice among a branch of the Scythians, the Khasas, till as late as the beginning of the Christian era, is evident from the burial-places of the Khasas people which have been found in the Ladakh Hills.

Besides burial, another practice which was prevalent was the hanging of the corpse on a tree so that the flesh might be eaten by birds. The bones would then be collected and buried. This practice is still in vogue among the Parsis, but instead of hanging the body on a tree, it is placed on the *Dakhma* to be eaten by vultures. According to Greek writers there were times when instead of hanging the entire corpse to be eaten by birds, the flesh was separated from the bones so that they were available for immediate burial. There was also the custom among some of the Scythians of burning the corpse, and of the wife accompanying her dead husband. In the eighth and ninth centuries A. D., before the Russians had embraced Christianity, this practice was prevalent amongst them also, as was witnessed by an Arab traveller. It was the Scythians, in fact, who introduced the practice of *Sati* (the burning of the widow along with the husband) in India.

The clothing worn by the Scythians was the same all over the Eurasian continent. On their heads they wore the pointed cap which can be seen on Scythian coins as well as in the clay images of the 2nd and 3rd centuries found in Mathura and Amaravati. They wore trousers, a loose cloak and boots made of felt or leather reaching to their knees. A long straight sword hung from their belts. Chinese writers have made special mention of their long noses and brown hair, while Sanskrit writers have referred to the Scythians, Greeks, Pahlavs and Bahliks as being red-faced. Scythian women were famous in India for a beauty which the ancient Indian doctors ascribed to their copious consumption of onions. Vagbhatta writes in his "Astanghriday" (Uttartantr) thus :

"Yasyopayogena shakangananam lavanyasaradi-vinirmitanam"

The supreme God of the Scythians was the Sun. This is clear, not only from Greek sources, but from the fact that images of the Sun with boots such as were worn by the Scythians are found widely in India as well as from the fact that the Russians, before they were converted to the Christian faith, used to worship the Sun. Besides the "Sun", "Diu" was one of the Gods of the Scythians corresponding to the Vedic Dyo and the Greek Zeus. Mother Earth was worshipped by the name of Apiya. They called the Sun "Svaliyu" and if we keep in mind their predilection for using "l" for "r" the similarity with "Surya" becomes obvious. The God "Svaliyu" was the son of "Diu" the father and "Apiya" the mother. "Puk" was another important deity corresponding to the "Bhug" of the Vedas, "Bug" of the Persians and "Bog" of the Russians. The king or the chief was called by the Scythians "Pukpur", which is another form of "Bhugpur" (Bhug-putr i.e. son of Bhug). In Persian and Arabic, the Chinese Emperor is called Phugpur which is derived from Pukpur. The Chinese Emperors as we know were called Sons of God (Svargaputra). The Moon god was called by the Scythians "Artimpet" ("Arthi-pati"). Vrindu was one of their goddesses and Viropat (Virapati) was one among their gods. Very few examples of the old Scythian language remain today. Some of them are given below :

Taviti — Fire
Shak — Scythian
Zarina — Deer
Mahakanag — Maharaja
Tamuri — Sea Queen
Svaliyu — Sun
Parth — Separate
Kanag — King (Russian Kanyag)
Taritvaru — Chief of the tribe
Sparotra — Svarethra

CHAPTER 3

THE SCYTHIANS

(600 to 174 B. C.)

1. The Scythian Tribes

We have seen that from the third millennium before Christ up to practically the middle of the first millennium B.C., the following tribes successively occupied the Saptanada and the Altai regions—"Aphnas" (2500 to 1700 B.C.), "Andronians" (1700 to 1200 B.C.) Karasuk (1300 to 800 B. C.) and contemporaneously with the last-named, the Minusun tribes. All the evidence points to the fact it was they who were the ancestors of the Scythians. In the seventh century B. C. we find the Scythian tribes distributed in the northern part of Central Asia as follows : From the east of the Don along the north of the Caspian Sea up to the area between the Ural Sea and the Jaxartes River we find the Messagetae. This tribe also extended up to the Oxus valley, that is up to Khwarezm. South of this, lived the nomadic Daha tribe from which the Parthians were descended. East of the Messagetae in the northern part of the upper Jaxartes River up to the Narim River and Isikul dwelt the Sakrauka tribe (pre-Saivang). The Saivang tribe was to originate later from this tribe. In the Altai region at that time dwelt the ancient Wusan tribe from which the Wusun tribe was later to descend. East of this, up to Kansu near the Hwang-Ho river, lived the ancestors of the Yuchis. In the Terim Valley or Sinkiang, lived another branch of the Scythians, the "Khas", who, even before the seventh century B. C., crossed the Karakoram Mountains and spread to Gilgit and Kashmir. Later they went up to Nepal and made the whole of the Himalayas the land of the "Khas". The entire Scythian "Khas" tribe was in the Bronze Age up to the 5th century B. C.......In the inscriptions of Darius we find mention of another three Scythian tribes, "Tigrakhauda", "Homavark" and "Tyai", but it is difficult to say which regions they occupied. The region in which the "Sakrauka" tribe roamed east of the Messagetae was the western part of the Saptanada. These tribes were still in the pre-historic stage. All that we know of them is from Greek and Persian sources. We learn the following about some of the tribes that are mentioned below :

(i) The Messagetae : This term is derived from Mahashak (Maha-Great ; Shak—Scythian). This tribe, extending from the Don to the middle of the Jaxartes River and up to Khwarezm, was worthy of the term Great Scythian tribe. It really was the largest among the Scythian tribes. Their favourite weapon was the axe and like all other Scythians they could shoot their arrows from horseback. Not only their arrows and spear-heads, but their long straight swords, were made of bronze. Their diet consisted mainly of meat and milk and tents were their only dwelling-places. They were, in fact, out and out nomads. Their womenfolk fought alongside the men and often led them in battle. Although the Messagetae men married, they were free to have intercourse with other women which shows that they had scarcely gone beyond the stage of group marriage. As with the Eskimos till very recently, the practice of killing off the old men and women of the tribe was prevalent amongst them, the object being to rid the tribe of a burden.

Between the Messagetae and the Persian rulers there were constant clashes, of which we shall speak later. The western Messagetae tribes were also called the Sarmatians. In fact the whole tribe has often been called the Messagetae-Sarmatian tribe. It has already been explained that the dominant position of women in the tribe was the basis of the name—Sarmatian. It is probable that the Ionians gave them this name.

(ii) Sakraukas : East of the Messagetae but north of the Jaxartes in the western part of the Saptanada, the nomadic tribe called the Sakrauka lived and roamed. Sakrauka is, in fact, derived from (Shak-Ok-Sakastan—land of the Sakas). Their homelands were north of Sogdh. At one time they were the subjects of Darius I of Persia. South of them lived Sogdhians from the River Sogdh to the Oxus. They wore long pointed caps. Some scholars are of the opinion that Sakraukas and the Scythian Homavarks were the same. At the time of Darius they lived on the western banks of the Jaxartes but in the second century B.C. their clans lived in the western hills of Khojand. Some are of the opinion that those whom the Chinese have referred to as Saivang were really these Sakraukas.

(iii) Dahais : Most likely they lived on hillocks near the Oxus in between the Sakraukas and the Messagetae. The Chinese have called them "Ansi". They were excellent archers on horseback. One of the tribes from amongst them, the Parthians, established a small kingdom from 248-47 B.C. and later succeeded in bringing the entire kingdoms of Greece and Persia under their sway.

(iv) Khas : Greek and Persian sources make no mention of this tribe. Talmi and other writers have written about the Khas and for us they are still a living people. The existence of Kaskar in the Gilgit-Chitral region, Kush in Kashmir, Khusgiri in Kashgar, and the fact that from Kashmir to Eastern Nepal the Khas and the Khasia tribe still exists and that another name for the Nepali language is Khaskura or the Khas language, are an indication of this. In the Bronze Age they lived in the Terim Valley.

Until the time the Huns drove them out and they occupied their homelands the whole of the Terim Valley was Khasland.

(v and vi) Wusun, Yuchi : We shall find later that both these tribes had spread from Tyanshan to the Hwang-ho. At the time of which we write, they may have been called by some other name, but there is no doubt that it was the ancestors of these tribes who occupied this region.

Because the Scythians of the North were nomads we find no remains of their dwelling-places, villages, or towns. But their burial places were built on a grand scale and in them were buried many of their articles of daily use. It is from these burial places that we have been able to learn much about the life of the Scythian tribes.

2. Scythians of Altai

The researches of Soviet scholars into the Scythians of Altai have thrown much light on their history. In one of his writings Comrade Maiseva says :

"......Why is everything within these mounds covered with snow? Scholars have been greatly interested in this question for a long time past. The Altai mountains are not snow-covered all the year round, but beneath the rocky mounds the snow seems to be perennial. After considerable research scholars have come to the conclusion that this perennial snow was artificially created.

In their opinion the mounds must have been built in autumn so that the damp and frost might enter the mounds and cover everything with snow. In summer the rocks above the underground chambers prevented the sun's heat from penetrating them and so the snow never melted. Thus it is that till the day the archaeologists dug up the mounds, the snow had lain undisturbed.

Then arose the problem of how to remove the objects found in these tombs. There was only one way to do this and that was to melt the snow by pouring warm water over it. When this had been done and the snow had melted—the archaeologists were dazzled by the sight they saw. What unexpected treasures were stored here !—Leather articles with beautiful handiwork, complete women's garments made of silk and fur, helmets worn by the ancient warriors. The artist of the research group, Vera Suntsova, began to sketch and paint the articles on the spot so that the living colours of the leather, felt and fur articles could be captured before they faded. The perennial mantle of snow had preserved these colours in their original form, but who knew how long they would retain their old glory now that they had been exposed ?

There is no record in the history of archaeological research where articles made of leather, fur, cotton or felt have been found preserved in their original state after thousands of years. Many beautiful things have been found in

Egyptian tombs. But the fine garments and articles made of leather or of wood crumbled into dust the moment they were touched, even before a pictorial record could be made of them. Here, however, everything had been so well preserved that it appeared as if it had freshly been made.

The coffin, which was of solid oak, was so heavy that it could not be taken out without being dismantled. But when the strongly-built lid had been removed, the archaeologists gazed in wonder at what they saw, for the corpses of these ancient inhabitants of the Altai mountains appeared to have been buried only yesterday. There were two corpses in the coffin, those of a Scythian warrrior and his wife. The warrior's complexion was dark and his cheek bones comparatively high. The woman was fair, her face was small and her hands soft. Both the bodies had been preserved in ointment.

The male body was tattooed with designs of a cat-like creature having wings and a deer with the beak of a bird and a long cat's tail. The outlines of these strange fabulous animals stood out prominently on the dark skin. The ancient Scythians believed that tattooing protected them against evil spirits and was a sign of courage and noble birth.

It took several days to study the objects found, to note down their descriptions and to take pictures of them. Every day fresh wonders were revealed. There was a huge felt carpet upon which was the portrait of the Goddess of Prosperity and Plenty holding the tree of life in her hands, while in front of her was a horseman with curly black hair. The carpet was bordered with a floral design in brilliant colours. In accordance with ancient custom the finest things in a man's house were buried with his corpse.

At the side of the felt carpet was a velvet which proved to be extremely valuable. On it were designs of horsemen and of animals with the bodies of lions and the beaks of birds. It was these designs that enabled the archaeologists to fix the date of the burial for the pictures on the carpets in Altai resembled the pictures and seals found in the ruins of the ancient capital of Persia and those ruins belong to the 5th or 6th century B. C., that is to say, between two thousand to two thousand five hundred years ago.

Chinese clothes were also found inside the tombs as also an ancient Chinese mirror, which indicated that the people of Altai who had built these mounds had lived in the 5th Century B. C.

From the excavations they had already made, the archaeologists had expected to find the bodies of horses and presently fourteen splendid horses were found buried behind a wooden wall. All of them were in an excellent state of preservation complete with their trappings. The engravings on the wood, the bridles decorated with gold leaf, the various coloured coverings and the hangings of Chinese silk—all showed a high standard of art.

Rarely have those who specialise in the study of horses had the opportunity of touching with their hands the golden manes of horses that were killed more than two thousand years ago. Yes, killed, because these horses had not died in battle or in some accident but had been slain in order to be buried in the grave of their owner.

The last remains of the Panzirik tombs having been packed in boxes were left on the site and the bodies of the ancient warriors were removed to the Ermitage Museum in Leningrad. Soviet scientists had solved the riddle of the tombs of the Altai. They had resurrected for us the ancient past. The finds in the Altai tombs tell us the story of the life, religious beliefs and art of the people who in the days gone by roamed the Altai mountains. When we see them we realise that these people were not always culturally backward, for they reveal that, on the contrary, their culture was highly developed. Thus have we been able to add a new chapter to the history of the ancient Scythians."

CHAPTER 4

THE HUNS

(300 B. C.—300 A. D.)

It was the Huns that drove the Scythians out of their homelands and occupied them. The Mongoloid features that we find today both in the north and the south of Central Asia are also the result of this Hunnish occupation. The Turks and the Mongols are the descendants of the Huns.

1. The Ancient Huns.

Like the Scythians the Huns were also pastoral nomads. They were neighbours of the Scythians in Central Asia. Before the Yuchi were driven out, the Scythian homelands east of the Tyanshan and Altai had merged into the pastures of the Huns. Even before the ultimate clash between them they had had contacts with each other for purposes of trade and in occasional skirmishes. We learn from Chinese history that their cultural development in the metal ages owed much to contact with the races that went there from the West. There is no doubt that these races were connected with the Scythians and it is not unlikely that the Huns who lived to the north of China passed into the metal age because of their contact with them. Tartar and Turk are the terms that have been used to describe the Huns, but in Chinese history the word Tartar does not occur till the 2nd century A. D. and the word Turk does not appear to have been known to them till the 5th century A. D. When the Greek and the Persian sources begin to dry up, the Chinese sources are there to help us. Chinese historians have written much about the Scythians but very little of this has been translated into European languages. The work done by Russian scholars in publishing and sorting this material is most praiseworthy. At the present time new China and the Soviet Union are masters of the entire area once inhabited by the Scythians. The great interest being shown in historical research in these countries leads us to hope that the written materials and archaeological records will reveal much about them. The excavations in Narin in Tyanshan (Khirgizia) have turned up the special kinds of arrow-heads used by the Scythians, as well as round clay pots and other things. On the banks of Lake Issikul in Tyup, objects of this period have been found which are now being preserved in the Russian historical museum. In the Kazak Democratic Republic graves have been uncovered in the Berkarin area which contain articles considered to be of the

4th and 5th centuries B. C. In that very region excavations in Karachoko (Ili Valley) have led to the discovery of bronze arrow-heads used by the Scythians of the Minusin tribe and their descendants. Bronze weapons used by the Scythians have been found from Eastern Europe (Chertom Lik) to the borders of lake Baikal and Manchuria. At times their pasture lands must have spread far and wide. According to Dr. Bernstam—a great authority on the ancient history of Saptanada, Altai and Tyanshan—this entire region was inhabited by nomadic Scythian tribes in the sixth century B. C. It is also learnt that although they were essentially nomads, the art of cultivation was known to the Scythians.

The Chinese are eager to trace their history back to very ancient times, but the real history of China dates from the 6th century B. C. All earlier material has no more importance than mythology. The first historical Chinese dynasty was the Chin dynasty. The founder of this dynasty, Chin-Shi-Hwang-Ti (255-250 B. C.) united the scattered feudal principalities into one kingdom. Prior to this the nomadic Huns had been looting and plundering China. These mounted, meat-eating and booted warriors constantly attacked the Chinese towns and villages to their South. Horses, sheep and other animals were their possessions and from time to time camels, donkeys and mules were also seen with them. Their pasture lands were present-day Mongolia, Manchuria, and parts of Siberia north of these regions. The Hunnish tribes were called Hung-Nu by the Chinese. The Turks, Khirgiz and the Magyars of Hungary are descended from them. Besides the Hung-Nu, Chinese history mentions another Mongoloid nomadic tribe called Tung Hu. The Kittan (Khitai), Manchus and others were descended from them. The great Hun race had a number of tribes with their own chieftains. In our country and also in some others, the word "Aurdu" (Urdu) is considered to mean army camp. A whole tribe of these nomads, which included men and women, old and young, was called "Aurdu". The administration of the tribe was democratic and the chief had no right to arrogate a special status to himself. Hun children learnt to graze cattle early, but they learnt even earlier to use their small bows with which they first slew rats and later jackals and rabbits. They learnt from their infancy to ride horses bare-backed and, when they became a little stronger, to shoot arrows from horse-back. As their food consisted of meat and milk and their clothing was made of leather they were dependent on their animals. They also knew how to make felt. The warriors were the most respected members of the tribe and the choicest food was given to them. The old and invalids were given only their leavings. The sons took over the wives of the dead father and the elder brothers' wives were taken over by the younger brothers. As with the Scythians and other tribes who lived in similar conditions, it was not considered a disgrace to turn one's back to the enemy in flight but was accepted as a tactical manoeuvre. Mercy had no place amongst them. Their weapons were bows and arrows, swords and daggers.

Thrice a year the whole tribe met for the performance of social and religious rites and the settlement of political and other disputes. A king was elected to rule over the tribal chieftains. He was called Shanyu.

It has been estimated that from 1400 to 200 B. C. these nomadic tribes of the North continued to ravage China. In 300 B. C. the Hunnish tribes were roaming in Shansi, Sensi and Chilhi. The tribes or Aurdus had even settled on the banks of the Hwang-ho, which is why this province is still known as Aurdus. Chin-Shi-Hwang-Ti, who united the greater part of China into a single kingdom, built the Great Wall of China as a protection against the inroads of the Huns and drove away the Hunnish tribes from Aurdus, Shensi and other provinces. In the making of the Great Wall from the Sea to Lunchao in the west, hundreds of thousands of Chinese died under the lash. From the time of the making of the Wall and for a thousand years onwards bloody clashes continued to take place between the Chinese and the Huns. The hundreds of thousands of skulls that have been found near the Wall bear witness to these battles. While in the North the Chinese had to face the Huns, in the East the Scythian ancestors of the Yuchi were equally ferocious.

2. Dynasty of Hunnish Kings.

1.	Tumun Shan-yu	250 B. C.
2.	Maudun, his son	183 ,,
3.	Chi-Yu ,,	172 ,,
4.	Chu-Chen ,,	172-127 ,,
5.	Ichise, his brother	127-117 ,,
6.	Achvi	117-107 ,,
7.	Chan-Silu	107-104 ,,
8.	Shuli-hu	104-103 ,,
9.	Shuti-hu	103-98 ,,
10.	Hulu-hu	98-97 ,,

1. Tumun Shanyu (250 B.C.) : It was just as China was being united under the Chin Dynasty that the Huns too were becoming united. The first king of the Huns, Shanyu Tumun, took full advantage of the anarchy that followed the death of the Chinese Emperor and in a manner worthy of his great descendant, Chengiz Khan, who was to come a thousand years hence, he plundered Aurdus and other provinces and made Aurdus his pasture land once more. Coming down from the north the Huns again became neighbours of the Yuchis who were living in western Kansu. Tumun had great influence

over the Hun people, but the greatest Shanyu among the Huns was his son Maudun

Under the influence of his younger wife, Maudun's father tried to deprive Maudun of his heritage and to make his younger son the ruler. In order to get rid of Maudun he kept him as a hostage with the Yuchis and then attacked them, his object being to provoke the Yuchis to killing his son. But Maudun managed to escape on a swift horse. His father tried to placate him by making him a chieftain over ten thousand but Maudun was not one to forget his father's crime so easily. It is said that Maudun was the inventor of the singing arrow. He was an expert in its use and he took his revenge by making his father the target of his arrow.

2. Maudun (183 B.C.) : As soon as he became Shanyu, Maudun murdered the whole of his father's family, keeping only one of his father's wives for himself. At this time not only the Chinese and the Yuchis but even the ancient Tungus (Tung Hu, Hwan) had also organised their tribes and it was with them that the Huns began to fight. A fierce battle took place between them on the sands of the Gobi desert and Maudun inflicted a severe defeat on them. Many of the Tungus were forced thereafter to become slaves, but some of them succeeded in escaping to the North-East where they gathered strength and again became a menace to the Huns. Maudun was not only an able general, he also showed great ability in organising and administering the tribe. He defeated three of his rival tribes and made the Huns a great power. Maudun can in fact be considered as great a conqueror as Cyrus, Darius and Alexander. He defeated the Tungus and having thus secured himself against attack from the North he turned his attention to the Yuchis. The Yuchis were also brave warriors and like the Huns they could shoot their arrows from horseback. It is quite possible that it was from the ancestors of this Scythian tribe that the Huns learnt the arts of war and the use of weapons. For a long time the Yuchis resisted the Huns, but in the end (176 or 174 B. C.) they were forced to accept defeat and to leave their ancestral homelands of Kokonor and Lobnor. Writing to the Chinese Emperor Venti (169-56 B.C.) Maudun said, "I have united all the Tatar tribes who can bend the bow on horseback into one kingdom. I have destroyed the Yuchis and the Turbugtais, Lobnor and twenty-six kingdoms surrounding it are under my control. If you do not want that the Hung-Nu (Huns) should cross the Great Wall you should not allow the Chinese to come near the Wall. See also that my messenger returns safely and is not kept as a captive."

(a) Administration etc.

Maudun's kingdom extended from Korea in the East to Balkash in the

West and from Baikal in the North to the Kwinlun Mountains in the South. During his father's rule the Hun Kingdom was confined to his own tribe and the Huns contented themselves with occassional plundering raids into China in the South. But the old system was no longer suited to the vast kingdom that now existed and so Maudun had to establish a new one. It has to be remembered that Hun society was patriarchal and that feudalism had not as yet spread amongst them. Whereas in China the peasants were no more than serfs or slaves and their children were the moveable chattles of the Chinese lords. The pattern of Hun society was as follows :

(i) Shanyu : The Hunnish form of the Chinese word for Shanyu (King) was Jengi. It is probable that it was from this that the word Chengis was derived. The complete title of the King was "Tengri-Kudu-Shan-Yu" (great son of God). To this day the word for God in the Mongol and Turkish languages is Tengri. Shanyu, the Hunnish King, was a leader and warrior with great influence, but he was under the control of the Aurdu or tribe.

(ii) Dugi : This means the Holy One or the Just One. Under the Shanyu there were two Dugis—one of whom was called the Eastern and the other the Western Dugi. The Eastern Dugi was considered to be higher in status and was ordinarily regarded as the heir-apparent. Over the eastern part of the kingdom, the Eastern Dugi ruled and over the Western part the Western Dugi. Over the central part, that is the land where the Huns dwelt, the Shanyu himself ruled directly.

(iii) Rukle (Kutlu) : They too were two in number—Right and Left, of whom the status of the left Rukle was higher.

(iv) Under them were two generals—Right and Left.

(v) Under them again were two ministers. Further, as with the Right and left Kunlus, there were twenty-four persons with authority over one to ten thousand. In the Hun administration there were no distinctions between the rights of soldiers and civilians.

Apart from this the titles of the Huns were based on Horns which were probably sometimes used as decorations. Both the Dugis and both the Rukles were called "Four Horned". Below them were the six-horned authorities. Both the Kutlus looked to the administration. The Dugis and twenty-four other leading officers had demarcated regions within which they could move about with their men and their cattle. They had the right to appoint officers over a thousand, a hundred or ten persons.

The queen of the Shanyus was called In Chi (Yen Chi). She was chosen from amongst the three or four distinguished families. The family of the Shanyu was considered to be of a very high status. The divisions and titles created by the Huns were in use till the time of the Mongols and Turks. Timur also adopted the system of appointing officers over ten thousand, five thousand, one thousand and so on and this came to India in due course with his descendant, Babar.

(b) The New Year Festival :

This was the greatest national festival of the Huns which the Shanyu observed with immense pomp and splendour. Sacrifices were made at this time to the ancestors, to the gods, to Earth and to the spirits. There was another festival in the autumn at which horse-racing, camel fights and numerous other games were organised for the amusement of the soldiers and citizens and at the same time a census of the tribe was taken and taxes were levied on animals and wealth. Crimes were few amongst the Huns and punishment was swift. It was meted out at the time of the two great festivals. Among the punishments were the death penalty and breaking of the knees. Crimes against property were punished by making the persons slaves of the whole tribe.

The New Year and Autumn Festivals were great political and religious assemblies and apart from organising these the Shanyu had to perform certain religious duties every day. In the morning he salutated the Sun and in the evening the Moon. Like the Chinese the Huns considered the left and the right directions auspicious. In an assembly the Shanyu always faced north while the Chinese Emperor always faced south. Great importance was given to the phases of the Moon. For the opening of a military campaign the bright part of the Moon was considered auspicious and for returning the dark part. He who captured booty from the enemy was considered its rightful owner. To be able to cut off the head of the enemy was considered an act of the greatest heroism.

It seems that the Scythians also exercised an influence over the Huns, who, like the former, buried their dead together with all their valuables, but in their case no mound was built or tree planted over the grave nor was death an occasion for great mourning.

(c) War

The Huns were not only cattle breeders but great warriors. Plunder amounted almost to a profession with them. One of their favourite tactics in battle was to pretend to be defeated and to simulate flight. After leading the enemy away in this manner hidden bands of trained soldiers would attack them from the rear. Maudun once trapped as many as three hundred and twenty thousand Chinese soldiers in this way. The Chinese Emperor had reached a strongly fortified area a mile away from the modern Shensi but the greater part of his army was still far behind. Maudun, with three hundred thousand chosen soldiers, fell upon the Chinese ; the Emperor was surrounded and remained so for seven days. It was with great difficulty that the Chinese forces were able to extricate thier Emperor from the ring and they were obliged to submit to humiliating terms. One of the corners of the ring thrown by Maudun had been weak and it was through this that the Chinese Emperor fled with his army. Maudun did not pursue them, but the Chinese were forced to give one of their Princesses, silk, valuable metals, jewels, rice, wines and other foodstuffs in exchange. This marked the beginning of what later became a regular practice, namely, the marrying of Chinese princesses to powerful nomad kings. The Chinese calculated that the son of the princess would be partial towards his mother's kinsmen.

After the death of the Chinese Emperor, Hung Ti, his widowed queen, Ki Tu, placed her son Venti on the throne and for twelve years ruled the kingdom herself on his behalf. Hunnish society, being patriarchal, had certain advantages over the Chinese, and thus caused many Chinese to flee to the Hun kingdom for shelter. Persuaded by a flatterer from amongst these Chinese, Maudun sent a messenger to the Queen asking for her hand and heart. Some of her courtiers tried to incite her to offer battle in reply but others who were wiser counselled, "The children still sing songs of the flight of the Emperor". The Queen therefore sent the conciliatory answer : "My teeth and hair, most respected King, are not worthy of your love", and with this she sent two royal chariots as well as some fine horses and other presents. Maudun felt somewhat ashamed of himself and sending many Hunnish horses in return asked for pardon. Maudum reigned for a long time (36 years).

3. Chi Yu (Kuyuk 172 B. C.) : He was the son of Maudun whom the Chinese writers have called Lao Shan Shanyu. The Chinese Emperor sent a Chinese princess for the Shanyu and with her came a eunuch who soon became a great favourite with him, but under the influence of the Chinese princesses and the Chinese presents the Huns became ease-loving. The eunuch disapproved of this and he exhorted the Huns : "Your entire tribe hardly numbers as many as the inhabitants of a few Chinese districts, yet you have been able to extend your sway over the Chinese. The secret of this has been your independence of China for your needs. But I find that day by day you are becoming greater lovers of Chinese goods. Remember that a fifth part of the wealth of China is enough to buy up all your men. Satin and silk are not as suitable for the rough life of your country as are wool and felt. Chinese spices and food that decay quickly are not as suitable for you as cheese and Kumish." He kept on warning them constantly in this way ; and the letter he made them send in reply to the Chinese was not only a lengthy ultimatum, but it contained a long title for the Shanyu, "Great Shanyu of the Huns, Son of the Earth, equal to the Sun and the Moon etc."

There came a day when the Chinese ambassador cast aspersions on the treatment accorded to the old by the Huns. In reply to this Chi Yu wrote : " When the Chinese go to battle do I not see the relatives of the soldiers forgoing so many things for the army ? Among the Huns war is a profession. The old and the invalid cannot go to battle and so the best food is given to the warrior."

"But sons and fathers sleep in the same tent. Sons marry their step-mothers. A brother shows no respect for his brothers' wives," taunted the Chinese.

To this he replied, "The Huns eat the flesh of their cattle and drink their milk. From season to season they roam from pasture to pasture with their animals. Their administration is simple. The relations between the rulers and their subjects are just and lasting. It is true that the son or the brother takes over the wives of his father or brothers, but the reason for this is the desire to safeguard the family. According to Chinese custom this may be a sin but it serves the interests of the family and the dynasty." He went on to say, "But in China, although the son and the brother may appear to refrain from such sinful behaviour, the result is rebellion, enmity and the destruction of the family. In your society the customs and laws are so degrading that they set up one class against another, make one man the slave of another. For food and clothing, you have to till the soil and tend the silk-worm. For your safety you have to build fortified towns. When the crisis comes, not one of you knows how to fight, and in times of peace you have to live by the sweat of your brow. Do not talk to me of the virtues of your sham society !" Finally he added, "Chinese ambassador ! You should talk less and confine yourself to seeing that the best quality silk and in full measure is sent to us ; that rice, wine and other annual tributes come regularly. If the tribute is satisfying, it is useless to talk. As for us, we do not talk at all. If it is not satisfying, we shall plunder your territories."

After ruling for seven years Chi Yu found it necessary to attack the Chinese. With 140,000 soldiers he went right up to the present ShyenFu and took a large number of men, animals and a considerable amount of wealth as booty. Meanwhile the Chinese busied themselves with preparations for war but were not ready by the time Chi Yu had finished his work. Panic reigned for many years and finally a treaty was signed on the terms that all territory north of the Great Wall belonged to the bowmen (Huns) and that to the south of it, to the people with caps and sashes (Chinese).

The flight of the Yuchis : The biggest victory scored by Chi Yu was the clearing out of the Yuchis. Maudun had merely defeated them in battle. At that time the Yuchis occupied the area from Labnor to the banks of the Hwang-ho. North-West of Labnor lived the Saivang (Scythians). Chi Yu with his well-organised army harried the Yuchis till they were forced at last to flee to the West

(176—134 B. C.). After going some way into the regions occupied by the Saivang, one part of the Yuchis went towards the Terim valley and another to the Ili valley. The first part is called the Lesser Yuchis and the second the Greater Yuchis. Before the coming of the Yuchis the Terim valley had belonged to those "Khus" who, even at that time, had spread as far as Kashmir and the western Himalayas. After this, for some centuries, the Terim valley came under the occupation of the Lesser Yuchis. The Maha or Greater Yuchis drove out the Saivang and occupied their land, while the Saivang in their turn attacked their western neighbours, the Wusuns, living in Saptanada and Tyanshan. The Huns did not allow the Great Yuchis to live in peace there either and they spread towards the west up to the Sir Darya (Jaxartes) and the Aral Sea. Then they turned to the south. For sometime their centre was north of the Oxus River. Just at that time the Greek Bactrian king Heliok had died. Reaching the shores of the Caspian Sea where the Parthians lived and going up to the Sogdh Valley, the Yuchis put an end to his kingdom and divided it amongst themselves. By 128 B. C., when Chang Kyan reached Bactria, it had become a Yuchi Centre. We shall later narrate how the Yuchis grew in strength and reached India.

The Later Hun Rulers

Chu Chen, son of Chi Yu (172-127 B. C.), succeeded his father as Shanyu. He too married a Chinese princess and continued to turn for advice to the Chinese eunuch. The Chinese Emperor, Vu-ti, tried to trap him and in a bloody battle the Shanyu was surrounded, but managed to escape. From this time onwards there were continuous clashes between the Huns and the Chinese and the Chinese border was the scene of constant Hunnish raids.

Ichise (127-117 B. C.) was the fifth Shanyu, brother of the fourth. During his reign border raids against the Chinese had to be discontinued because of the effective measures taken by the Chinese Emperor Vu-ti, who repeatedly attacked Hunnish territory, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Huns, and captured their cattle in large numbers and drove them far into the North. Kansu, the land of the Yuchis was thus cleared of the Huns. During the capture of Chang Yeh, a town in Kansu, a golden image, which the Huns worshipped, was discovered. It is very likely that this was an image of the "golden man" Buddha. Buddhism had reached the Terim valley in the reign of Ashok, and the Huns had presumably learnt of it from the Yuchis. In fact the Chinese came to know of India only after they had conquered the Yuchis and come into contact with the Buddhist religion. But in China itself Buddhism was to spread very much later.

Although the Chinese army had succeeded in driving the Huns to the north, they knew that they could not regard this as a final victory. So the

Emperor Vu-ti sent one of his generals, Chang-Kyan, to the Yuchis, the ancient enemies of the Huns, suggesting that they should attack the Huns from the west and inviting them to settle down once more in their ancient homelands from which they had been driven out by the Huns.

Chang-Kyan, the first of the great Chinese travellers, set out on his journey in 138 B. C. The travel notes that he has left are highly informative. In trying to reach the Yuchis he fell into the hands of the Huns, who held him in captivity for ten years. After the Wusuns had succeeded in liberating themselves from Hunnish rule, Chang-Kyan made good his escape into Wusun territory and from there crossed into Khakand, a region inhabited by people who had settled in towns and villages and did not lead a nomadic life. Passing through Samarkand Chang-Kyan came at last to Bactria, where the Yuchis were then living. Explaining how the Emperor Vu-ti had driven the Huns away from their territory he tried his best to persuade them to return to their ancient homelands in China. But the Yuchis knew too well how short-lived a victory over the Nomads was likely to be. Enjoying a peaceful and prosperous life in their vast and newly-acquired domains in Bactria, they were in no mood to pick a fresh quarrel with the Huns. Unsuceessful in his mission, Chang-Kyan had now to make his way back, but the journey lay through Badakhasan, Pamir and Sinkiang, where it was impossible for him to escape from the clutches of the Huns. For twelve years again they held him prisoner and it was only in 126 B. C. that he was able to make his way back to China.

In 115 B. C. the need for the securing of their Silk Road to the west prompted the Chinese to send Chang-Kyan out again, this time to the Wusuns who were living in Tyanshan near the great Issikul Lake. With the help of messengers sent to Parthia and other lands, Chang-kyan submitted a report to the Emperor regarding the Western countries. The original report is not available, but books based on it were written by Suma-Chiang and Pang-ki, named respectively Shi-ki and Chian-Shan-Shuki, in 99 B. C. and 92 B. C. The latter is a unique work, which was later completed by his sister. It contains accounts covering the period from 206 B. C. to 24 A. D.

After his return from the West, Chang-Kyan died (114 B. C.). His travel notes tell us many things. They tell us for example that the Parthians used to write on leather in oblique lines and that the Scythian language was spoken all the way from Fargana to Parthia.

Vu-ti and the Huns

The fifty-four year long reign of Vu-ti will be remembered chiefly because it marked the defeat of the Huns, the growth of Chinese might to a very high peak and the securing of the Silk Road to the West. In three formidable attacks on the Huns in 129 B. C., 119 B. C and 99 B. C. smashing blows were inflicted on them. This offensive resulted not only in the break-up of the power of the Huns, but in securing for the Chinese of almost a hundred thousand Hunnish slaves whose labour made a great contribution to the economic development of China. The trade route to Fargana also fell into the hands of the Chinese and helped to build up a flourishing trade with Rome. Prior to this the nomads, such as the Tungli living north-east of the Altai, and the Wusuns who were in the Saptanada and Tyanshan, had been under Hunnish domination and had even rendered military support to them when need arose.

The love of luxury and growing internal strife among the Hunnish chieftains were the factors that contributed to the success of the Emperor Vu-ti. When in 176 B. C. or thereabout Chi forced the Yuchis out of their homelands, the Hunnish might was at its zenith, but by the time they had to face Vu-ti their strength had declined considerably and their organisation had begun to show signs of rot. The common urge for the spoils from raids into China which had become the main source of livelihood for the Huns had been the one factor uniting the different Hun Chiefs. But this unity lacked stability and disintegration soon set in. Taking advantage of this China had succeeded by the 2nd century B. C. in extending its rule over the whole of Central Asia up to Fargana.

By the time Hu-lu-ku the tenth Shanyu ascended the throne, internal strife among the Huns had assumed the form of a regular civil war. In 90 B. C. the Chinese started another large-scale military campaign against the Huns. The Karakhuja and Pizam areas of Sin-kiang were already in Chinese hands and between Karashar and Khoton in the Terim valley a large number of towns, inhabited by people akin to the Khus and Scythians, had sprung up.

Even after the Chinese had succeeded in driving the Huns far into the North their power was not completely destroyed. This is evident from the reply they gave to the Chinese emissary who was sent to negotiate a treaty with them. "The South", said the Huns, "belongs to the great Han people and the North to the Huns. The Huns are the untamed sons of nature. We care not for hardships. Our terms for opening a border trade with China are that a Chinese princess be given to us in marriage, that every year ten thousand deerskins, ten thousand bales of silk and all that is due to us from earlier treaties, be sent to us. If this is done we shall refrain from raiding your frontiers".

There is another example of their dare-devil attitude. The mother of the Shanyu was ill. The wizards who read the omens declared that the Gods required a sacrifice. The foremost Chinese general, Syan-li, the conqueror of Khokand, who had taken refuge with the Huns as a result of certain court intrigues against him, was chosen as the sacrificial victim. This may have angered the Gods still further, because it snowed continuously for several months, cattte died in large numbers, epidemics spread amongst the people, the crops did not ripen and, above all, they suffered defeat in battle and lost many of their generals.

The Defeat of the Huns

When Khu-khun or Hu-Han-Yeh succeeded as the fourteenth Shanyu, fierce internecine strife broken out in the entire Hun territory from Manchuria to the Issikul. There were now five claimants to the Shanyu throne, of whom Chi-Chi, Hu-Han-Yeh's elder brother, proved to be his chief rival. Disgusted with the continuing civil war and weakened by the attacks of the Chinese, many Hun generals chose to surrender to the Chinese.

After inflicting a severe defeat both on Chi-Chi and on another rival called Bo Yan, against whom he mobilised an army of fifty thousand in Karakoram (Mongolia), Hu-Han-Yeh gradually consolidated his hold over the Hun kingdom. Bo Yan committed suicide in despair. One of the reasons for the success of Hu-Han-Yeh over his rivals was that he was the elected Shanyu, a fact which counted for much in a society in which, in spite of the increase in the rights and powers of the chieftains, a sense of military democracy was deep-rooted.

Hu-Han-Yeh, who was in favour of accepting Chinese suzerainty, placed his proposal before the council of chieftains. Many of them who opposed the proposal argued thus : "War and activity are the breath of our lives. Ease and slavery are not for us—rather do we scorn such things. We are horse soldiers. This is the secret of the strength which has assured our superiority over all the barbaric tribes. Death on the battlefield is coveted by every one of our brave warriors. What does it matter if we sometimes fight amongst ourselves ? When one brother does not conquer the other will, but the kingdom remains our own and even the brother who is defeated has the satisfaction of a glorious death. However powerful the Chinese Empire, it has neither the strength to conquer or absorb us. Why should we abandon our ancient ways, blot the fair name of our ancestors, and make ourselves slaves and objects of ridicule. Such a course might bring us peace, but would forfeit for ever our right to rule over others."

But one of the princes who was in favour of submitting to the Chinese argued thus, saying : "You are wrong. We must realise that every nation has its ups and downs. To-day the Chinese power is at the height of its glory. It has captured Kulja, all of whose kingdoms have accepted Chinese Suzerainty. We can never hope to make up for the losses we have suffered since the time of Shu-ti-hu (103-98 B. C.). We have had to face a series of defeats. It is better to swallow our pride and give up this useless fight. If we decide to accept Chinese overlordship we can live in peace and suffer no further loss, if we do not we shall be destroyed. In the circumstances the choice is clear."

The latter course having been finally decided upon, Hu-Han-Yeh and his elder brother Chi Chi sent the son of the former to the Chinese Emperor as a hostage, this being one of the terms insisted upon by the Chinese.

In the following year (51 B. C.), Hu-Han-Yeh sought permission to visit the Chinese court. The Chinese knew that even in defeat the Huns had power to do considerable damage, so that they felt it would be wise to be on good terms with them. Accordingly, the Chinese Emperor Sven Ti (73-48 B. C.) sent a large and resplendent escort to meet Hu-Han-Yeh and on his arrival came forward in person to welcome him to the court. He was accorded a status superior to all the princes and to the nobility and was exempted from paying the usual obeisance of prostration at the Emperor's feet. The Emperor addressed him as "our friend" and not by name ; showered him with presents which included a gold seal, a royal sword and chariots and horses from the royal stables : and when his audience was over he sent him with a special escort to his residence. After a few days of hospitality at the Emperor's court the Shanyu returned home.

Chi-Chi also decided to accept Chinese suzerainty and sent a prayer to the Chinese Emperor that he be permitted to stay just outside the Great Wall in Aurdus province on a promise to protect the fortified towns of the area in case of danger. Chi-Chi's ambassador to the Chinese court was also treated with great honour. In the following year, emissaries on behalf of both brothers visited the Chinese Court, and Hu-Han-Yeh was shown still greater honours. Moreover, when in 49 B. C. Hu-Han-Yeh again paid a personal visit to the Chinese Court he was showered with an even greater number of gifts than he had been before. This aroused the jealousy of Chi-Chi. Feeling that Hu-Han-Yeh had become a renegade, he set out with his whole tribe to conquer the West. Hoping to win over the Nomad Wusuns to his side he sent a special emissary to them. But the Wusuns king counting China on his side, rejected his offer, cut off his emissary's head and declared war against him. Chi-Chi defeated the Wusuns in battle, and, turning to the north, forced the Tarbagtai, Vu-Che, Chyang-Kun, Tingli and other nomadic tribes to pay tribute to him. These tribes had been enjoying a considerable measure of autonomy under the Wusuns. The centre of Chi-Chi's aurdu was 7000 miles south-east of Chang-kun.

Chi-Chi established his centre near the Karakoram (Olanbator) 2300 miles from the centre of the Khirgiz and 2000 miles from what are now Turfan and Pizam. In 48 B. C. the Emperor Sven Ti sent twenty thousand measures of corn to Hu-Han-Yeh. This infuriated Chi-Chi, who immediately sent for his son, who was a hostage in the service of the Chinese Emperor, while the emissary of the Chinese court, who had accompanied his son, was killed without ceremony.

By 48 B. C. the Hun tribe had separated into two parts—the southern under Hu-Han-Yeh, which owed allegiance to the Chinese and the northern, which was completely independent. The treaty signed between Hu-Han-Yeh and the Chinnese contained among others the following clauses : "The Chinese and the Huns will live side by side in perpetual peace. Neither side will attack or deceive the other. If any person on either side is guilty of participating in loot or plunder he will immediately be reported to the other side and punished. Moreover compensation will be paid for the damage done. In case of aggression from some third party both sides undertake to repel the aggressor. May the Lord not spare the side that violates the treaty."

After this treaty had been signed, the Shanyu took the Chinese emissary to a neighbouring mountain top and there, from a Yuchi skull, which had been carefully treasured as a trophy since the Hun victory over the Yuchis, they drank the blood of a horse which had been sacrificed for the purpose and swore an oath that the terms of the treaty would by mutually observed.

The Chinese courtiers were not pleased with this oath, but the Emperor did not like the idea of repudiating it.

At about the time when Chi-Chi was busy planning the murder of the Chinese emissary, the king of Samarkand sent for help against the Wusuns, who were proving too oppressive towards his people. But the Chinese army came to the help of the Wusuns and in the ensuing battle on the banks of the river Tuls (Tu-li) Shanyu Chi-Chi met his death. At this the barbarian tribes of the North began to disintegrate.

The Northern and Southern Shanyus.

The feud between Hu-Han-Yeh and Chi-Chi in the first century B. C. resulted in the break-up of the Hun tribe into two parts, of which the Southern owed allegiance to the Chinese. The Huns living on the far side of the Gobi desert, well away from the Great Wall of China in the areas now known as Mongolia and Baikal, felt safe from the Chinese and so had a great deal less urge to placate them. Hu-Han-Yeh's inclination to submit to the Chinese did not disappear however, even after the death of Chi Chi and he remained eager to prove his loyalty to the Emperor in spite of the fact that the latter did not absolutely trust him. The Emperor knew that the Hun was a nomad without hearth or home, incapable of being tamed, and to be trusted as an ally only so long as he was appeased with presents. He had come to realise that the best way to 'civilise' the Huns was to continue to send them articles of luxury and beautiful Chinese princesses. So it was that when two years before his death in 33 B. C., Hu-Han-Yeh visited the Chinese court, he too was presented with the most beautiful princess in the harem, Chau-Chun by name. The harem of the Emperor was full of beautiful young women, many of whom he had never even seen and it was the practice for the court painter to paint portraits of the girls from amongst which the Emperor would select the one that caught his fancy. Naturally, the artist was heavily bribed by the inmates of the harem to exaggerate their charms, but Chau Chun refused to suborn the court painter of the time—a person called Mao. That is why, although she was the most beautiful girl in the harem, the painter deliberately distorted her features so as to make her appear ugly. She had therefore never had the good fortune to be sent for by the Emperor. Sitting in the corner of the women's apartments she would watch the changes of the seasons. Winter would come when the leaves turned yellow and fell from their stems and Chau Chun would think that her beauty too would fade away and that she too would drop down one day like the leaves. When Hu-Han-Yeh asked the Emperor for a Chinese princess Chau Chun alone of all the inmates of the harem gave her consent. Disgusted with her lonely life and eager to save Chinese lives and property from the hands of the Huns Chau Chun agreed to sacrifice herself. When however she appeared before the Emperor before being handed over to the Shanyu, Hu-Hun-Yeh, the Emperor realised that he had been cheated and immediately ordered the execution of the court painter. Many a Chinese poet has sung of the tragic life of Chau Chun—her departure from her homeland, her journey to the arid deserts of the West, and how Hunnish ladies-in-waiting tried in vain to cheer her with sweet songs sung to the accompaniment of harps. But Chau Chun gazed at the ever fresh graves in that lonely desert and thought of the day when she too would lie in one of them.

It is said that it was at this period that the musical instrument used by the Huns found its way into China.

As an expression of his gratitude to the Chinese Emperor, Hu-Han-Yeh offered to take over the responsibility of protecting the entire area from Hwang Ho to the Lobnor and suggested that the needless waste of money on the border encampments might thus be avoided. But one old minister warned the Emperor against accepting the offer. "Remember", he said, "the forest clad mountains standing from Shansi to Korea could not prevent the Conqueror Maudun from entering and ravaging China from all sides. This went on till Vu-ti (140—53 B.C.) pushed them across the desert and fortified the entire Great Wall. The encampments on our frontiers are meant on the one hand to prevent any traitorous Chinese from escaping to the Huns and on the other to defend China against Hunnish raids. Let us not forget that many of the tribes inhabiting our borders are kin to the Hun tribes whom we are only gradually absorbing. The Tibetans on our borders are discontented because of the greed and oppression of our officers. If they were to unite with the Huns against us they could be a serious menace. Not even a century has passed since the Great Wall was built. The wall is not just a heap of mud. Following the natural contours of the countryside it runs above and below the mountains. It is honeycombed with secret passages and caves, and fortified with towers. Shall all this labour be allowed to go to waste ?"

Differences between the Nothern and Southern Huns must have been smouldering for a long time, but they only came to the fore at the time of the twentieth Shanyu, Hu-Tu-El-Shi-Tau-Ku (18 to 46 A. D.). Among the Huns, kingship was not hereditary in the sense that the eldest son succeeded the Shanyu. Sometimes it was not the son but a brother or cousin of the king who succeeded him as Shanyu. Hu-Han-Yeh was succeeded by each of his five sons in turn. The nephew of the twentieth Shanyu would have been the heir, but the democratic verdict of the tribe went against him. Ultimately Hu-Han-Yeh II did succeed in getting himself elected, but the son of the twentieth Shanyu also proclaimed himself Shanyu. He was continuing the tradition of his uncle Chi-Chi.

Clashes between the two Hun tribes now became frequent. In 49 A.D. the brother of the Southern Shanyu succeeded in capturing the Northern Shanyu's brother. The Northern Shanyu knew that he was no match for the Southern Shanyu, who had as powerful a protector as the Chinese Emperor, so he went to a place three hundred miles from his southern pasture lands. Thus was confirmed the prophesy that in the ninth generation the Huns would have to flee for a distance of three hundred miles.

After a few days the brother of the Northern Shanyu organised a revolt against him with the help of five rebellious chieftains and thirty thousand families. The whole force encamped thirty-five miles from the main centre of the Northern Huns. A fierce battle ensued in which all the five rebel chieftains were killed. Their children tried to rally the remaining forces and to seek the help of the Southern Huns, but they were captured by the Northern Shanyu who also succeeded in routing the army sent by the Southern Huns to their rescue.

The Emperor asked the Southern Shanyu to move further to the South in the Lin Chau area. It was these Huns who, three hundred years later, were to found a Chinese dynasty.

The Northern Shanyu, anxious to avoid a conflict with China, released a large number of Chinese captives and sent them home. As an excuse for the looting of Chinese territory that had taken place, he said that he had merely been pursuing the rebel chieftains. In 52 A. D. he sent an emissary to the Chinese court to negotiate a treaty, but the offer was rejected. The following year he sent a gift of deer skins and again made overtures for settlement. He sought permission to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor in person along with his royal followers and asked for a team of musicians. The Chinese Emperor wished to be on good terms with both the Shanyus, so he wrote back in conciliatory terms. "In the past," he wrote, "there was continuous strife between Hu-Han-Yeh and Chi Chi. At that time too the Heaven Born (Chinese Emperor) gave his merciful protection to both and took their sons into his service. Recently the Southern Shanyu has turned to us and accepted our overlordship. As he was the eldest of the direct descendents of Hu-Han-Yeh we have accepted him as the rightful heir. But when he tried to exceed his rights and needed our help against the Northern tribes it became necessary to pay heed to the prayer of the Northern Shanyu also because he too has done his duty to us. We therefore see no reason why the Northern Shanyu, together with his vassals, the Si Yu kings, should not come to us to swear his loyalty to the Empire........."

Soon after this, the first Northern Shanyu died, but his successor came towards the Great Wall to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty. At the same time he continued to loot and plunder Chinese territory. The Southern Huns played a big part in repelling their attacks. In 63 A. D. the Northern Huns again expressed their desire to start trade with China. Hoping that this would at least end the predatorial attacks of the Huns, the Chinese court agreed to their proposal. Two year's later a Chinese mission went to the Northern Shanyu to discuss the terms, but this did not find favour with the Southerners, some of whom in disgust went over to the Northerners. China continued to send gifts to the Huns, but the Huns were too greedy to be satified with this and they continued their plunder of Chinese territory. The Emperor Ming Ti (58-76 A.D.) was forced to send his army against them, but true to their traditions the Huns escaped across the Gobi desert. In 84 A. D. we again hear of trading rights being given to the Northern Huns to the annoyance of the Southerners, who retaliated by capturing many of the former's men and animals.

The close of the first century after Christ saw an increase in internal strife among the Northern Huns, while the strength and numbers of their enemies continued to grow. To their East, in Manchuria, the nomad Syan Pi (Hu Hwan), a branch of the Tungus, were fast gathering strength and the day was to come when they would give China a ruling dynasty. The powerful Syan Pi were harassing the Northern Hun tribe from the East. In the South, their own Hun kinsmen were after their blood. In the West, they were reeling under the blows inflicted on them by the Si-Yu tribes of Turkestan, while in the North the Ting Ling (Kankalis) were attempting to conquer them. Attacked from all sides the Northern Huns were gradually being wiped out. Some of them fled to the North, others, proceeding along the upper banks of the Selanga and advancing towards the Iritish River and the Issikul lake, began to occupy the Wusun lands. Not content with this, they gradually advanced across the northern shores of the Aral sea inhabited by the Kungs and, driving out the Alans, descendents of the Scythian Sarmatians, from the North of the Caspian, reached the shores of the Black Sea and the Danube. Attila, who was later to ravage Europe, was descended from the Huns of the Danube. He used to boast, "The blood of the Shanyus runs in my veins." The final blow that drove the Northern Huns from their homelands was dealt by the Syan-Pi in 77 A. D. Capturing the Shanyu in battle, they preserved his skin as a trophy. Of the remnants of the Northern Huns, some two hundred thousand surrendered to the Chinese in groups, and that was the end of the Northern Huns as a separate tribe.

The Southern Shanyus continued to live in a corner of the vast Chinese mainland as feudal lords under the Chinese Emperor from 48-190 A. D. They became more and more part of China and gave that country considerable military support. At times the wild blood of their ancestors would well up in them and they would begin a campaign of loot and plunder which invariably resulted in the massacre of thousands of their soldiers. In 177 A. D. the then ruling Shanyu fought for the Chinese against the Syan Pi conqueror, Darjey Gvey. The Chinese lost the battle and the Shanyu was killed. His heir was also killed by a Chinese general who proclaimed himself Shanyu. Later, the Hun dynasty disappeared altogether. The Tung-Hus (the men with the pigs) appeared next and came to be known as Syan Pi. Their leader, Darjey-Gvey, was the founder of the Syan Pi dynasty in about 165 A. D. Like the Huns, they were nomads with a democratic military administration. Their dynasty ruled Northern China till the end of the fourth century. From the Syan Pi was descended the powerful To-Ba dynasty, whose third king, Tau-Vu-Ti, the conqueror, founded the Northern We-i dynasty. A branch of this tribe, the Un-kurans, established the Jvan-Jvan Empire, which extended from Tyan-Shan to Korea. The Turks, who subsequently founded the Turkish dynasty and established the Turkish Empire, were blacksmiths and descendents of this tribe.

CHAPTER 5

THE WUSUNS AND THE AWARS

The Wusuns

According to Dr. A. N. Bernshtam, the culture of the Wusuns was the same as that of the Scythians, the only difference being that the Wusuns did not use Bronze. From this it is clear that the Wusuns were a branch of the Scythian race which extended from the Carpathians to the Kokonor and which appears in history in the beginning of the Bronze age. Regarding the physical characteristics of the Wusuns, the Chinese have said, "They had blue eyes, red beards and plain monkey-like faces." The inhabitants living behind the Sinkiang (Ku-Chi) were also blue-eyed and red-haired. Aurel Stein and Lekak have found paintings in the Terim valley of blue-eyed, red-haired people, which shows that up to the fourth and fifth century after Christ such people were living in the Terim valley.

It was in the third and second centuries before Christ that the Wusuns were most powerful, although this was the period when the Huns had also begun their campaign of conquests. The Central Asian Silk Road to the West passed through Wusun territory along the banks of the Issikul Lake. Here too was situated the main centre of the Wusuns Chi Gu: The Chinese and the Huns were both interested in keeping the Wusuns on their side. Wusun territory, which they had inherited from their Scythian ancestors, included Ili and Chu-valleys and the Tyan-Shan mountain region. To the South, just below the mountains, was the Terim valley, where dwelt the Hu-Ma tribe, which carried on trade with the Wusuns. To the west, in the Tuls valley, the Wusun territory bordered on the region inhabited by the Kung Tribe. In the South and West, the Wusun territory was bounded by the beautiful Fargana valley (Tawan), which was extremely prosperous on account of the Silk Road and famous for its fine breed of horses. On his return from his travels Chang-Kyan had praised the horses of Tawan highly and the Emperor Vu-Ti finding that the people would not part with them willingly, organised a military campaign against the Wusuns and thus extended the borders of Chinese Empire up to Fargana.

The Wusnns were nomadic herdsmen. Chinese writers have said of them that they are versed neither in agriculture nor horticulture. They roam in search of drinking water from one spot to another. Wealthy Wusuns possess as many as five thousand horses.

Culture

Even when the Wusuns had entered the Iron age they lived a primitive life. The archaeological excavations made in Khirgisistan in 1929, reveal that the Wusuns excelled in the manufacture of pottery, and metal, wood and leather-work. Three kinds of wooden and clay vessels appear to have been in use—those for the storage of grain, those for eating and those for cooking. For weapons, they had heavy bows, three edged arrows and long straight swords. Chang-kyan, who stayed among the Wusuns twice during his travels, helped to make these nomads friendly towards the Chinese and many of the Wusun nobles married Chinese princess. An ancient folk-singer has composed this song, expressing the sorrowful life of a Chinese princess among the nomadic Wusuns—

My kin have banished me to a far off land
As spouse of a Wusun king they sent me to a foreign kingdom,
Where they dwell in round, felt covered huts,
And live on meat and milk.

History

Ruins of Wusun settlements have been found in three areas where they evidently lived in those days : (1) Karabalti in the Chu Valley (2) Korokal Tyup and Kochkor in Tyan Shan and (3) a number of places in the Alma-ata district in the Ili valley. In 209 and 201 B. C., the Huns dealt them severe blows. In 174 B. C., when Maudun and Chi-Uchu had forced the Yuchis out of their homelands, the lesser Yuchis settled in the Terim valley as neighbours of the Wusuns, while the greater Yuchis, in flying to the Oxus Valley, ravaged the Wusuns of the Ili and Chu vallyes. It was then that the Wusuns accepted the Hunnish overlordship which ended only with their going over to China after the visit of Chang Kyan.

The Wusuns were not afraid of their western neighbours, the rulers of Fargana and Kung, or of those on their south the lesser Yuchis. It was from the East and Far East that danger threatened them. The Chinese were vitally interested in keeping the international trade route from the East under their control and this involved control of the Wusuns, but the Huns were not willing to tolerate that their vassals should accept Chinese overlordship. The Wusuns on their part realised that their interests lay with the Chinese, for the Huns, being nomads as they were themselves, would, if they occupied their territory, take away their grazing grounds.

It was part of Chinese diplomacy to marry off their princesses to foreign rulers. Thus it was that Hunnish and Tibetan rulers were regularly being given Chinese princesses in marriage till as late as the 8th and 9th centuries A. D. Of course in the case of the Chinese a 'Princess' did not necessarily mean the daughter or sister of the king. Just as the Royal storehouse contained many articles kept for presentation, so did the royal harem contained many beautiful maidens who had been collected from far and wide. The story of Chau Chun is well known. For many years there were fierce battles between the Huns and the Wusuns over Chinese princesses.

On one occasion, when a Chinese princess was sent in marriage to a Wusun chieftain, the Huns, feeling that the alliance of the Wusuns with the Chinese threatened their very existence, demanded that the Han princess be handed over to them and threatened war for non-compliance with their demand. The Wusuns turned for help to the Chinese Emperor Sven Ti (76 to 48 B. C), and the combined forces of the Chinese and Wusuns inflicted a severe defeat over the Huns. Of the forty thousand Huns who were slaughtered, some of their most famous generals and princes fell and 300,000 horses, cows, sheep, mules and camels were captured as booty. As this happened before the division of the Hun tribe had taken place the Shanyu was the ruler of the entire Hun tribe. The Chinese had marched a hundred thousand troops six hundred miles westwards in order to come to the aid of the Wusuns, while the Wusun ruler of Kulja had attacked from the West with an army fifty thousand strong. The Chinese pursued them as far as Jami and Barkul, but the Huns had scented their arrival and dispatched their families and animals to the North. With the defeat of the Huns all the relatives of the Shanyu were taken prisoner. The Huns would have wished to avenge their defeat that same winter, but it snowed so heavily that nine-tenths of the tribe was destroyed. The Northern neighbours, Ting Ling (the Khirgiz or pre Uigurs), also took advantage of their difficulty and launched an attack on them, while the Vu-Kvans of Manchuria did not stand by idly either and did their best to destroy them. Thus the Huns who had set out to capture the Chinese Princess, were themselves seriously weakened. Chinese historians have estimated that in this battle, prompted by primitive human emotions, the Huns lost a third of their forces, including the large numbers who died of starvation as well as half their cattle.

In 1929 a very valuable archaeological find was made in Wusun territory. In the excavations at Altai too, the grave of a Wusun king has been found which has been dated as belonging to the 3rd Century B. C. This grave is as astonishing as the graves of the Huns found in the Northern Caucasus. It appears however that soon after the grave had been dug it was broken into by thieves, who took away many of the valuables. But this area, being situated in that part of the Altai where ground is covered with perpetual snow, the hole dug by the thieves was soon filled with snow and thus for twenty-two centuries the snow hid and preserved all that lay buried below. The grave was four metres deep and contained ancient leather, wood and other articles, as well as ten large and beautiful horses, all in an excellent state of preservation It is considerd likely that these horses were those used by the dead chieftain himself. The grave also contained a number of ornaments and although the thieves had made away with most of the valuables, there is much of archaeological interest in this find. Again on the banks of the Ursula, two tumuli have been found which contain, besides human remains, fourteen horses together with their trappings, five hundred ornaments made of gold and other metals, as well as garments of various kinds. The very word Altai means 'golden mountain' and at the time when this grave was made, the whole of Asia was supplied with gold from Altai.

Neighbouring Tribes

The Wusuns had been masters of the entire territory from Altai to Tyan-Shan. Gradually, however, the Huns infiltrated into this region and by the first century A. D. only the mountaneous regions of Tyan-Shan were left to the Wusuns. But even after the Huns had occupied the Ili and Chu Valleys a number of Scythian tribes were permitted to continue in the region under the protection of the Huns.

We find evidence of the continuous existence of the Wusun tribe right up to 436 A. D., when a Wusun king is known to have sent presents to the Chinese court. During the period of the Hun domination over this territory the Hu Hwans, Ting Ling and Tungus tribes merged into the Hun tribe—a process that was rendered easier by the fact that all these were Mongoloid tribes similar in appearance to the Huns. Their languages had been different, but these gradually died out and the Hunnish dialects were adopted.

It was by a similar process that the Southern Huns were absorbed by the Chinese. True, the absorption of the Wusuns represented a more difficult problem, as they differed not only in language but in appearance. Nevertheless it did take place and ultimately they lost their separate entity. Till this day, however, there is a tribe among the Kazakas known as the Sari Ui Sun tribe, which appears to be descended from the old Wusun tribe.

North-west of the Wusuns (north of the Aral Sea and the Jaxartes River) dwelt the Kung tribe—a name familiar to the readers of the Mahabharat and other Sanskrit texts. They belonged to the old Scythian stock, but some historians consider them to have been related to the Sogdhians. The Scythian Kungs and the Mongoloid Kung Li flourished at about the same time and later the Kung territory was taken over by the Kung-Li and their

Hunnish descendents. We find traces of the Kungs till as late as the fifth or sixth century A. D., when they were ultimately absorbed by the Turks and the Sogdhians.

The Sarmatians, a Scythian tribe, occupied the territory west of the Kungs as far as the Don. Their descendents came to be known later as Alans. Dr. Vernadsky is of the opinion that the Alans were the same as the Unts. Quoting ancient historians he states : "The Sklavs and the Unts had originally the same name and these two barbaric tribes had the same customs and manners, they spoke the same primitive tongue, were similar in appearance having the same tall figures and sturdy built, the same dark hair and complexion. They lived a hard life and like the Messagetae did not care for physical comforts."

Vernadsky goes on to say that the Sarmatians, including the Unts, crossed westwards from Kazakstan to the south of Russia. Of all the Sarmatian tribes the Alans were the most powerful. By the end of the first century after Christ they had occupied the lower Don valley and the Northen Caucasus. The word Unt when written in Chinese characters is pronounced Un Che and philologists are of opinion that the word Uss or Ussi is derived from it. The Papal Emissary Plano Karpini, writing in 1246-48 A. D., has described the races ruled by the Mongols as "Alans or Ussi" and he evidently holds the view that they are one and the same. The French Ambassador Ruk Ruk, on his return from Mongolia in 1253-54 A.D., expressed the same opinion. The researches of Dr. Vernadsky have also led him to the conclusion that the Unts, Assu or Yassu are the ancestors of the modern Osseti and that they have had much to do with the making of the Eastern Slavs (the modern Russians). It would not be surprising if we found remains of this nomadic tribe from the Aral Sea to the lower Danube. The Azaf Sea north east of the Black Sea has actually been named after them, because Azaff or Asaf means Sea of the Uss. As a result of the repeated attacks of the Huns, the Uss tribe seem either to have fled towards the Caucasus or to have been absorbed by the Huns.

Wusun Kings

Saptanada was the main dwelling place of the Wusuns. Mention of this fact is found in Chinese writings following the time of those journeys of Chang Kyan which were undertaken to stir up the Scythians against the Huns in the middle of the second century.

One of the Wusun kings was killed by the Huns and his son was taken captive and later placed on the throne. The Wusun tribe continued to live in the plains of the Saptanada until their defeat at the hands of the Huns, which forced them to retreat to Tyanshan. In the second century before Christ the Wusun tribe consisted of 12,000 families or 630,000 souls. They could put an army of 188,000 on the field. Their capital, Chi Gu, stood on the south-eastern banks of the Issikul River and was situated 610 li, north west of Sinkiang, 2000 li north-east of Khojend, the capital of Fargana, 5000 li east of Kung border and 2000 li north-west of Tawang their capital. According to the Russian historian Orestof, Chi Gu stood not on the borders of Issikul, but on the banks of the river Kijit Su. Chinese writers have given an account of some of the Wusun kings. Their names, as given below, are written as pronounced by the Chinese. The actual names are not known.

Gun-Mo (105 B. C) was the king, who married the Chinese princess whose sad life was commemorated in the song already quoted. When the Chinese Emperor attacked Fargana in order to seize their famous horses, Gun Mo contributed a contingent of 2000 soldiers. During the reign of his grandson Gun-Chui-Mi, who had a Chinese wife, the influence of Chinese officers grew considerably. Another Sen Chu (Wusun king) Ung-Gui-Mi, married the Chinese wife of his step brother. Ung-Gui-Mi died in 60 B. C. He was an extremely powerful and capable ruler who revealed his prowess at home as well as abroad. At the instigation of the Chinese, he launched an attack on the Huns in 71 B. C. and inflicted a severe defeat on them, killing 40,000 soldiers and capturing 70,000 animals. In addition, he not only attacked his south-eastern neighbours, the inhabitants of the Terim valley, and made his son the ruler of Yarkand, but concluded an alliance with the king of Kucha by giving his daughter in marriage. After his death, his step-brother Ni Mi succeeded him, assuming the title of Kvan Van. Although he himself was the son of a Hun princess he took the widow of his brother, a Chinese princess, as his wife. But he did not get on well with his Chinese wife and her countrymen. The Chinese ambassador intrigued against him and attempted his assassination. He managed however to survive and punished his enemy by complaining to the Chinese Emperor. Some time later the Wusuns had to face an attack from the Huns. The Chinese could not send them any help and Kvan Van was killed in battle. Chui Li, later Vu Chyu Tu, succeeded him, assuming the title of Gun-Mo, Junior. Meanwhile the son of Ung-Gui-Mi had assumed the title of Gun-Mo, Senior and proclaimed himself king. The Junior Gun-Mo controlled 70,000 families, while the Senior Gun-Mo controlled 40,000. The latter also fought against the Huns with Chinese aid. The reign of the the Senior Gun-Mo was comparatively peaceful, but he did not die a natural death.

I-Chi-Mi (11 B. C. to 8 A. D.) was the son of a Chinese princess and grandson of the last king. In the clash between the Senior and Junior Gun-Mos, the Chinese had supported the Senior Gun-Mo. The Junior was dethroned and after his death at the hands of the Huns, I-Chi-Mi was placed on the throne by Chinese. In 11 B. C., I-Chi-Mi and his uncle Bi-Kwan-Chi attacked Gun-Mo from the North with 50,000 soldiers. He established a close alliance with the Chinese and when he went to the Chinese court, was well received. Bi-Kwan-Chi was later slain by the Chinese.

By 8 B. C. the Terim valley had fallen into the hands of the Huns and the Wusuns lost contact with China. It was only in 73 A. D. that this contact was again established. At this time the Kushan King, Kanishk was ruling over India and Central Asia. The Terim valley was also in the hands of Kanishk, but he accepted Chinese Suzerainty. In 97 A. D. a large army under the command of Wang-Chao, marched westwards to the Caspian Sea to establish full control over the western trade route. At that time the Wusuns, the Kungs and the inhabitants of Fargana, were all under Chinese domination. Till the end of the second century after Christ the Syan Pi dynasty, descended from the Tungus, was in full control of North China.

In 181 A. D. the Syan Pi king Ta Shi extended the frontiers of his kingdom to the borders of Wusun territory and in the fourth century A. D. another Syan Pi dynasty succeeded in annexing a part of Wusun territory. From the fourth to the middle of the sixth century after Christ the Tu-Tan dynasty dominated Central Asia. It was under pressure from them that the Wusuns were forced to leave the plains of Saptanada and seek refuge in the Tyan-Shan mountains. In 425 A. D. many of the western monarchs sent their ambassadors to the court of Syan-Pi, Emperor of North China. At this time North China was split into two kingdoms, the Northern Wei and the Western Wei. Among those who sent their emissaries were the Wusuns. In 436 A. D. a Chinese representative visited the Wusuns. Up to this time the Wusuns had been sending their annual tribute regularly to the Chinese but after this we do not find any mention of the Wusuns in Chinese writings. In modern times it is only among the Khirgiz Kazak people that we find a tribe name Ui-Sun.

Awars (400 to 582 A. D.)

The Huns had spread far and wide and become a Eurasian Tribe and their descendants, the Magyars, are still living in modern Hungary. In prehistoric times the Indo-European race had also been Eurasian, and at one time the Turks, descendants of the Hun, were spread from Manchuria to the Caucasus and Crimea. Later, although Eastern territory was occupied by other Mongolian tribes, they continued to occupy Eastern Europe. Till this day, Turkish-speaking peoples continue to live in Eastern and Western Central Asia, Azerbaijan and Turkey.

Awars (Jvan Jvan, Ju Jun)

Before the Turks entered the arena of history the Awars occupied the regions which later came under the sway of the Turks. After the destructions of the Huns, Syan Pi took over Manchuria, Mongolia and some parts of China. One of the dynasties descended from them, the To-Ba dynasty, was founded in 315 A. D. and continued till the 5th Century. The Awars were related to this dynasty and that is why they are also known as Mukru-To-Ba. This Hunnish tribe lived in the areas near Lake Baikal where the Ting Ling dwelt and north of the Gobi desert. It is told that the To-Ba prince of Tatung came into possession of a young slave who did not remember his name and his master gave him the nickname Mukru. As a reward for courage shown on the battlefield Mukru was freed, but on his refusal to perform certain military duties was awarded the death sentence. He managed to escape, fled to the north of Gobi desert, and, collecting a group of men round him, became a bandit chief. His son Sharuk gathered more followers and founded a small tribe of his own which came to be called the Awars. At first the Chinese name for the Awar tribe was Ju-Jun but it was later (in 451 A. D.) changed to Jvan-Jvan by the To-Ba Emperor Tai-Hu-Ti (425-452 A.D.). In the seventh generation after Mukru came She Lun, a powerful chieftain, who conquered the Kao She tribe and, consolidating his military strength, took the title of Kagan (Khan). The kingdom of the She Lun, which spread from Korea to the Altai, included a part of China as well as a section of the trade route of Central Asia. The Awars relations with the Chinese were not unlike those of their Hunnish ancestors. At times they plundered the border regions of China, at others they gave military aid to the Chinese Emperor. The Turks put an end to the military might of the Awars in 546 A. D. One of the Awar kings was known as Braman.

The Awars were greatly influenced by Chinese culture and by Buddhism. The To-Ba Emperors accepted Buddhism. Turkish blacksmiths who worked in slavary on the Eastern peaks of the Altai, took advantage of the internal strife that later developed among the Awars and cast off the chains of their slavery.

CHAPTER 6

THE TURKS

(546-704 A. D.)

One of the Hunnish tribes was known as the Kau-She (Kankali, Ting-Ling, Tikalik) tribe. Kau-She means large cart and the tribe acquired this name because they moved about with their belongings on large wheeled carts. Such carts were common among the Turks and the Mongols. We first hear of this tribe in about 500 A. D. They lived in a state of constant strife with the Awars. On one occasion Tai-Vu-Tu, a To-Ba Emperor who defeated the Awars, captured 50,000 Awars and seized several thousand carts and several hundred thousand animals as booty. Like the Awars, the Kau She constantly harried the Chinese borders. Avoiding a frontal assault on the Chinese mainland, they made the Chinese trade route their target. One of the To-Ba Emperors attempted the keeping of them in check by settling them on the southern borders of the Gobi desert, but they soon revolted and returned to the North. The To-Ba dynasty was fairly successful in suppressing the nomadic tribes and tried their best to prevent the Jvan-Jvan from making alliances with them. The Ting-Ling Chieftains now began to live near Urumchi in small kingdoms of their own and they might even have succeeded in organising themselves into one large kingdom but for the fact they were never able to combine. Even in battle each one fought for himself without any overall plan or direction and that is why they could not consolidate themselves when victorious or protect themselves when defeated.

While giving their brides in marriage, cattle and horses were offered as dowry. They used neither grain as food nor alcoholic liquors for drinking purposes. They dressed in leather, ate animal flesh, took no steps to obtain warmth and were very dirty in their habits. The grazing of cattle and horses was their main occupation, and in course of time they were assimilated with the Turks.

The Establishment of the Turkish Empire

We learn from Chinese sources that the Turks were one of the Hun tribes which had been known in earlier times as the Ussena. In 433 A. D. the To-Ba Emperor tried to dispossess them of their territory and to swallow up the tribe. At that time, 500 Ussena families fled to the Jvan-Jvan kingdom, where they worked as slaves smelting iron on the southern peaks of the Altai. As they wore pointed caps they began to be called Dur-Po (Tu Pu, Topi) which was later distorted into Tirku, Turk, Tyurok or Turusk. The Turks had earlier lived in Lyan, one of the culturally developed areas of China, but they do not seem to have been benefited by it to any extent. However, as soon as the Jvan-Jvans were defeated, their cheif, Tu-Min, declared himself free and in about 546 A. D. he was proclaimed El-Khakan. When Anakwe, the Jvan-Jvan king, refused to give his daughter in marriage to Tumin, he was killed by him.

Il Khan is derived from El Khan or El Khakan. Khakan, Khagan, Khoman and Khan are all forms of Shanyu, which was the Chinese version of a word which in Hunnish was probably Ching Gis or Jing-gis. There are those who have tried to distort this into Jungi. It was the Jvan-Jvans who first adopted the little Khakan and later the word came to be used by the Turks as well as by the Mongols. Till 1917, the tittle Khan was reserved, in Central Asia, for kings alone, but in India it had become almost valueless, in spite of having carried in the beginning considerable weight. In earlier days the designation Khan-Khana had denoted very high rank at the Mogul court in India, Akbar's protector and Prime Minister Bairam Khan, having been given this title. But when the Mogul Kings began to call themselves, Shah, Shahenshah, or Padshah, the tittle Khan began to lose its worth. Timur, the ancestor of Babar, had reserved this tittle for his satellites and preferred to call himself Amir.

Tu-Min was called Il-Khan Tu-Min. Il or El stands for the tribe and thus El-Khan means King of the tribe. After assuming the tittle of El-Khan, Tu-Min began to distribute titles to others. During the time of the Huns the queen had been called Yeng-Chi : now she was given the tittle Kho-Ho-Tun, which later became Kho-Tun, or Kha-tun. To this day in India, Muslim ladies of high rank are given the title of Khatun. During the lifetime of Tu-Min Turkish power had grown considerably and when he died in March 553 A. D. his tribe, known amongst the Chinese as Tu-Kyu or Tui-ky had won a name for itself.

Some of the important titles among the Turks were De Le, (Te-Le, Mongol, De Re)-Prince, Kui-Lui-Chui (Khilich or Khilij), A-Po (A-pa), Ghe-Re-Phe (Sya-Li-Pha), Tu-Tun, Ji-Gin (Su-Chin) etc. all indicating persons of high rank.

In giving names the Turks tried to describe the qualities of the person e. g. She-Vau-Li-Yo, which means brave or powerful ; San-De-Lo, meaning fat ; De-Lo-Biyan, one who drinks too much.

Below are given some old Turkish words :

Ko Li—(Kari) old, Ghorun—Ghora or Ghorha (Horse), a common word in India ; Kara—(Kala in Hindi) dark, Kara-Shu—High authority, So-ko —hair, Tu Dun—Governor, So-Ko-Tu-Dun—Provincial Governor, Je Khan—

an important officer, Un-Hun—Meat, Un-Jun-Kuni—royal gateman, Lin—wolf, Lin—Khakan—Viceroy, Yau-Gu—Prince, I-Khakan—chief of the household (I—House).

Culture

The Turks embraced Buddhism quite early. The religion had a powerful influence over their lives and until their conversion to Islam this was their national faith, as it still is with the Mongolian peoples. But their faith did not interfere with many of their national customs, e. g., that of placing the corpse in front of the dead man's tent where each one of his children, grand children and other kinsmen would come and present a horse or a sheep. Grief was expressed by the slashing of the face with a knife so that the tears were mixed with blood. Corpses were buried in spring or autumn. Stones were set up on the graves as symbols of mourning and the number of stones placed on the grave denoted the number of the enemy slain by the dead warrior. On that day all the members of the family were dressed in their best robes and ornaments and if any women caught the fancy of any of the men present a marriage proposal was sent to the girl's parents. It was customary to accept such proposals. A similar custom was also current among the Syan-Pi.

Like the Huns the Turks had their pastures, which were situated on the Tu-Chin mountains. Like the Huns again they visited their pastures every year and offered sacrifices in honour of their ancestors. The whole tribe would collect at the time of these sacrifices, which were proffered during the period of the waxing moon. A hundred and fifty miles to the West of Tu-Chin stood Pu-Tengwi, a barren mountain. According to the Chinese, the Turkish alphabet was Hu (Suriyani), but they had no calender. The Turkish menfolk were fond of dice, while women played a kind of football. Their favourite drink was koumiss, which was a fermented liquor prepared from mare's milk.

Turkish Dynasties

By the sixth century A. D., the Turkish Empire had spread from the Altai mountains to the Pacific Ocean and the Black Sea. The hub of the Western Turkish Empire was the old Wu-sun land, the Saptanada, which included Central Asia. The Trade route from China to the West traversed their kingdom. Passing Tashkend, Aliya-Ata and the Chu River in Saptanada, it then followed the southern banks of the Issikul and the Vedel Dande till it came to the Oxus (Terim valley). This was the route followed by Sven-Chang in his travels from Central Asia to the Oxus. At that time the Chu valley was mainly agricultural land and was inhabited by the Sogdhians, who came from Khojend. Before the arrival of Sven-Chang the entire region from the Oxus to the Chu valley had the same culture, language, script, religion, robes, ornaments, customs and manners. They used thirty-two alphabets derived from the Suriyani script and, like that of the Mongols, it was written in vertical columns. The Sogdhians were farmers, as well as traders. They followed the Mani religion. Their main trading centre, Suiyan town, was situated on the banks of the Sui river, south of the Kestak and Dande and up to the seventh century Suiyan was inhabited by large number of foreign traders. There were other towns, too, south of Suiyan, which had accepted Turkish overlordship. It was near Suiyan that, later on, the tribe of the western Khan was to settle.

Isi Gi or Is Te, was the son of Tu Min, the fiirst member of the dynasty, but the Turkish nomads followed the democratic procedure in choosing a successor. Isi Gi did not continue very long, as Ki Gin, who was the younger brother of Tu Min, assumed the title of Mu-Yu-Khan and became the ruler. The descendants of Isi-Gi later succeeded in establishing the Western Turkish dynasty.

Mu-Yu-Khan did much to strengthen the Turkish Empire, but the Turkish nobles gradually grew accustomed to a life of ease and luxury. Like their Hun ancestors they raided and plundered the Chinese borders, while China continued to appease them by sending gifts and giving Chinese princesses in marriage to Turkish nobles.

The Eastern Turkish Empire

After Mu Yu Khan, his brother To Ba succeeded as Khan. His nephew Dolabiyan bided his time while To Ba was alive, but after his death there was a conflict about the succession and the Turkish Empire split into two parts, the Eastern and the Western. The founder of the Western Empire was Dolabiyan. To Ba was the ruler of the Eastern Empire and had a hundred thousand troops under him. It was his habit to bully the Chinese Emperor every year into sending him presents, which included a hundred thousand bales of silk. It was a common occurrence to find thousands of silk-clad Turkish nobles feasting for days together in the Chinese capital. To-Ba did not feel in the least embarrassed by this. "As long as both my sons, and Chinese Kings, continue to do their duty," he boasted, "I shall not lack anything."

The Spread of Buddhism

When Chang-Kyan made his journey through Central Asia the Buddhist religion had spread to the Terim Valley. Even after nomads from the North had occupied this region the Buddhist religion continued to flourish. Ming an Emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty, sent his emissary to India to bring with him Buddhist scriptures and priests. He returned to the Chinese capital with two of the latter, Kashyap Matung and Dharam Ratan, as well as a large number of Buddhist texts. The "Dwachatvarinshat Text", translated into Chinese by Kashyap Matung, is still extant in China today. Even after the Han dynasty, Buddhist influence over the Chinese and neighbouring tribes was considerable. While on the one hand Chinese silk and other articles of manufacture carried Chinese material civilisation to the nomadic tribes, the spiritual message of China spread through Buddhism. In 570 A.D. the To Ba Khan accepted the Buddhist faith. The story goes that among the captives taken by the To Ba Khan was a Buddhist priest, who told him that the secret of the prosperity of the Syan Pi dynasty was their belief in Buddhism and that this led the Khan in accepting the Buddhist faith. A little earlier Buddhism had reached Japan via Korea. To Ba built a Buddhist Temple and sent his emissary to Honan in China to collect Buddhist literature. At the same time he arranged for the training of Buddhist scholars in the country, erected many columns and organised numerous religious functions. He always lamented the fact that he had not been in a Buddhist country such as China. When the Chi dynasty was threatened with extinction its king came to To Ba for protection. To Ba planned an attack on Peking in his support, but when Chi's rival sent his daughter to To Ba he did not hesitate to come to terms with the man and to hand over the refugee to him.

After the death of To Ba his son Ney Tu succeeded to the title and with the division of the Turkish Empire became Khan of the Eastern part. The Western Empire had already been formed under Dolabiyan's leadership by the sons of Tu Min and Mu Yu Khan.

Tu Min was not of royal blood and had founded the Turkish Empire with the help of his nomadic tribesmen. Succession by heredity was consequently not a common practice with the early Turks, nevertheless the will of the reigning Khan influenced the choice of his successor. While subscribing to the principles of democracy, the Turks felt that the families of their ruling monarchs were in some way superior to those of the commonalty. Tu Min himself had founded the Turkish Empire with the help of his brothers, so that his brothers were recognised as heirs in the direct line of succession. Before he died To Ba said to his son, "Even though sons are normally considered the direct descendants of their fathers, my brothers did not place their sons on the throne but made me the King. After my death you should accept Dolabyan as your king."

In deference to his wishes the tribe would have chosen Dolabyan as their Khan, but there was objection that his mother was not of noble family. In spite of this it was not Uan Lo, the eldest son of To Ba, who succeeded as Khan, but his second son, Ili Gui Lu, who called himself Se Mokhay Shobolio, or She Tu Shobolio. He set up his camp near the Tu Kin mountains. Like the Huns, the Turks chose their Viceroys from the royal family and it was they who were considered the chief commanders and administrators of the provinces under them. Umro, the younger son of To Ba, became the second Khan of the Tula valley in Mongolia.

The attempt to placate Dolabyan by offering him the post of Viceroy did not succeed and the Turkish Empire split into two. Shobolio was a brave and popular leader and all the tribes, right up to the far North, accepted him as their ruler. However, he became involved in strife with his step-uncle Datu who, slew him and proclaimed himself an independent Khan.

Shobolio had loved freedom and had not been prepared to accept even the formal suzerainty of China. The Chinese Emperor Vin Ti had sent an emissary to persuade him to accept Chinese domination, but he had asked, "What is meant by domination?" One of his courtiers had replied "It is what we call slavery." At that Shobolio's blood boiled and with the exclamation,—"So the Chinese Emperor wants to treat me as a slave!" He rejected the Chinese propsal outright.

The Sui dynasty ruled China for a mere thirty-seven years, and the Emperor Vin Ti and his son Yang Ti contributed more to the glory of China than did any other dynasty. The roads and canals built by them brought prosperity to the country, and that was a great asset to subsequent dynasties. Vin Ti had sent his armies against Shobolio in 680 A.D. and forced the Turks to flee to the North from their fertile pastures. Famine overtook them and they were forced to live on the bones of dead animals. The Chinese were not prepared to tolerate the rebellious Dolabyan either and he in his turn was forced to take shelter with Datu Buga, the Khan elect of the Westerm Turks. One of the tribes allied to the Buga Khan had seized the family of Shobolio and sent them to the Chinese Emperor, but Vin Ti was not cruel by nature. Himself a brave soldier he appreciated courage in others and he sent Shobolio's family back to him. In gratitude Shobolio had agreed to accept the desert as the boundary between China and the Turkish Empire. She Tu Shobolio, the Mo Go Khan of the Great Turkish tribe Ili Ku I Lu—such were the high-sounding titles bestowed upon Shobolio.

Another indication of the might of the Turkish Empire at this period may be gathered from the fact that in 538 A.D. an ambassador from the Roman Emperor visited Mu Yu Khan. This took place twelve years before the defection of Dolobyan, while the Turks were encamped in the Altai mountains. Roman historians have written at length on the glories of the Turkish Empire during this period and the Chinese Emperor Vin Ti entertained feelings of such profound respect for Shobolio that he declared a three days' mourning in the Chinese court when he died.

Dulan Khan, the son of Shobolio, succeeded his father to the throne.

In 588 A.D. he sent gifts to the Chinese Emperor which included ten thousand horses, twenty thousand sheep and hundreds of camels. The latter sent in return hundreds of thousands of bales of silk and other articles of luxury. Dulan Khan asked the Chinese Emperor to exhibit his gifts in the market place, a request that was willingly acceded to. A Chinese Princess was also sent to Dulan Khan, who had set up his camp in the Tu Kun hills not far from Northern Shansi, in the very place where Mau Dun the famous Hun Shanyu had once encamped.

The second son of She Tu Shobolio was jealous of his brother and conspired with Datu Khan to overthrow him, so that Dulan Khan was forced to take refuge in China. The Emperor Vin Ti built an entire town for him in Shanshi and after the death of his wife sent him another Chinese Princess. Dulan did not like the place selected for him and was therefore allowed to settle elsewhere, the district of his choice being the Aurdus Province near the Hwang-Ho, where with the help of several thousand slaves a canal was cut for his benefit. The Chinese were entirely on the side of Dulan and sent a large army against his brother, the second son of She Tu, who was ultimately slain by his own tribesmen, they holding him responsible for their plight.

The Ching Ling, Ting Ling and other tribes, rallied behind Dulan Khan and defeated his other rivals. Vin Ti honoured Dulan with the Title Chi Zen, while Yang Ti, the son of Vin Ti, heaped even greater honours upon him. When Dulan met the Emperor in North Shansi he was given a place above all the other nobles and was not merely exempted from prostrating himself before the Emperor but was permitted to march into court with his shoes on his feet and his sword in its scabbard. Two hundred thousand bales of silk were distributed among the nobles who accompanied the Khan, and at a later date the Emperor himself visited his camp, where, going down on his knees, Dulan Khan held up his wine cup and swore an oath of loyalty to him. The following year he was received with even greater honour in the Chinese Court. He died in 600 A.D.

With Datu Buga Khan's ascent to the throne in 600 A.D., democracy came to an end with the Turks and feudalism was established. Datu Khan was not an elected monarch and this practice continued since then. A number of important events took place in his reign. It was during this period that the Sui dynasty was replaced by that of the Thai (618-907 A.D.) founded by Kau Chu, a fierce warrior. Art and culture flourished and many of the Thai Emperors were themselves writers and patrons of art. Their political power also increased. Sujon, their capital, was the largest town of the time in the world. The Thai dynasty strengthened the foundations of the Chinese Empire and preserved its unity. Bugu Khan also sent his emissary Kutluk De Le to the Chinese court during this period.

Within the last seventy five years of this era, Khe Li, Du Bi, Tu Li, Imi Nish, Si Bi Li, Siku Mo and Che Bi, succeeded each other as Khans of the Eastern Turks. In spite of the fact that the Thai dynasty was extremely powerful at this time the nomadic Turks could not entirely give up their old habits, although the Chinese tried their best to appease them with presents. An incident that took place when Chu Lo was Khan of the Turks gives an idea of their characteristics. Chu Lo approached a certain border town with 2000 soldiers in support of the Thai Emperor, Tai Sung, who was fighting one of his rivals. The Chinese Emperor accorded him a great welcome, but the Turks repaid this by raping all the beautiful maidens they encountered on the way.

Khe Li Khan was the brother of the preceding Khan, who had married a Chinese princess. As her own son was extremely weak and ugly this Chinese princess did not allow him to succeed his father, but exerted her influence in favour of her brother-in-law, Khe Li. Khe Li became the Khan and married his sister-in-law. In the beginning Khe Li tried to pursue an independent policy, but he was soon made to feel the iron grip of the Thai dynasty. He had tried to revolt, but was forgiven and presents were showered on him. However, by this time the Turkish Khans had come to regard presents as their due and were far from being grateful for them.

The Thai Kings had many rivals ; Khe Li joined hands with one of them and adding his force of ten thousand to the six of his rival, began to plunder the North Shansi area. The Chinese armies inflicted a crushing defeat on them and the Khan was forced to sue for mercy. As a token of his new bonds of friendship with the Chinese he sent them a piece of gum, but the Chinese refused his overtures, and clashes continued to take place. In 622 A.D., when the Turks were facing a famine, the Chinese attacked them but were repulsed. From then on, Khe Li and Tu Li Khan continued to plunder and raid the Chinese borders for many a day to come.

The Thai Prince Tai Sung challenged Khe Li to a duel, but the latter merely smiled and declined to accept the challenge. Tai next tried to provoke his viceroy Tu Li in the same way, but he too refused the contest. Foiled in his efforts to beat them in this way Tai tried intrigues and succeeded in shaking the loyalty of Tu Li. This weakened Khe Li's position, but for another two years he continued to ravage the Chinese borders and once even the Chinese capital Chang An was in danger. The courier sent by Khe Li to the Chinese court began to brag about the greatness of his Khan and even went so far as to fling insults at the Chinese. Tai Sung thundered back at him, "Do you want me to kill you ?" Where upon, seizing a horse and with hardly any bodyguard, he rode to the Wei River that flowed beside the Capital. At that time only this narrow stream stood between him and the Turkish forces and from there he addressed himself boldly to the Turkish Khan.

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The Turkish generals were so much impressed by his courage that they dismounted from their steeds and welcomed him. Meanwhile the Chinese armies reached there. Disregarding all warnings, Tai Sung continued to talk to Khe Li, while the two armies looked on. A truce was at last arranged in 626 A. D., by which time Tai Sung had become Emperor. He had to explain later on why he had taken the risk of going ahead alone to face the Turkish armies. He had counted on the factor of surprise and he knew that if he could bluff Khe Li into submission in this way his position would be tremendously strengthened as against his internal rivals.

Following the tradition set by the Shanyus, the Chinese Emperor went with the Khan Khe li to a bridge west of the town and sacrificed a white horse to mark their friendship, while both swore to observe the treaty. But Khe Li broke the oath and went back with his army. Later on he tried for a rapprochement and sent a large number of horses and sheep as a tribute to the Chinese court, but these were refused.

In 627 A. D. he was to face trouble from the North. The Ting Ling tribes, Se Yun Da, Baikal and Uigur, revolted against the Turks and murdered all the Turkish officers in their region. By the second century A. D. these tribes had taken possession of the regions from the Bailak and Balkash Lakes to the Caspian Sea which had once been occupied by the Scythians. Khe Li sent his Viceroy Tu Li to suppress the revolt, but his army was routed and he himself had to flee to save his life. Khe Li ordered his arrest but Tu Li appealed to the Chinese Emperor who had been waiting for just such an opportunity to send a Chinese army against Khe Li. The part of the Turkish Empire north of the desert had been taken over by Bigu Khan, who was later succeeded by his son and nephew in turn, and all these three Khans harassed Khe Li, while a number of the Ting Ling tribes also went over to the Chinese.

While Khe Li's empire was breaking up he tried to outdo the record of the Chinese and Iranian Emperors in the exploitation of his subjects. Many of his ministers and governors had started a reign of terror and that was causing serious discontent among their Turkish subjects. The Eastern Turkish Empire had been facing a number of severe winters, to meet the rigours of which the authorities had raised the rate of taxation almost fourfold. A revolt broke out. Just at this time Khe Li attempted to support a claimant to the Chinese throne, but Tu Li and other Turkish generals were already on the Chinese side. A large army, led by General Ching Ling, made a sudden attack on Khe Li and surrounded him, but he managed to get away and crossed the desert towards the iron mountains of the Kirulon valley, from which point he offered to cede his entire kingdom to the Chinese Emperor. The Emperor's reply was to order his generals to pursue Khe Li who now fled for shelter to his nephew Sho Bolio Su Ni Sir, but was arrested on the way. The Chinese Emperor spared his life and offered him the governorship of a province, but as Khe Li did not care to accept this post he was made a commander of the frontiers and it was while serving in this capacity that he died in 628 A. D. His corpse was cremated on the banks of the Wei river near the Capital and a slave who had come to him as part of his mother's dowry cut his throat in order to follow his master to the grave. This slave was buried beside his master and a memorial inscribed with eulogies of both of them was erected to their joint memory.

After the defeat of Khe Li his nephew Tu Li succeeded to the throne. In his early days this nephew had been the ruler of the region north of the Sira Muren River and Khe Li's chief lieutenant. South of this river lived the Khitai tribe, which was not of Turkish origin. It was this tribe that was later to conquer China and thus give it another name Khitai. We are reminded of this till to-day when we use the term "Nan-Khitai" (Chinese hand-made bread ; nan, hand-made bread). During this period two Syan Pi tribes, Kumuk Khe Li and Siv, were under the domination of Tu Li. Of these, the Kumuk Khe Li tribe was descended from the eastern branch of the Awars, while from the Siv tribe originated the name Sivo Mongol. It was the Mu Jung dynasty that pushed the Kumuk Khe Li and the Khitai tribes back into the region between Jangaruja and the Gobi desert.

The To Ba Emperor only extended his conquests as far as the Amur River (388 A.D.). Among the one hundred thousand animals received by him as gifts, pigs are mentioned. For the next two centuries the Kumuk Khe Li tribe paid its tribute to the Chinese Court in conjunction with the Shir Vi and Matsya-Charm tribes. Chinese writers describe the members of these tribes as barbarians who tended pigs and were at a very low cultural level. After the fifth century they dropped the Kumuk before their name and adopted Turkish manners and customs, but like the Khitai, they still hung their dead on trees. These tribes were under Tu Li before he became Khan.

Tu Li lived in Swen Chan, near what is now Peking, where he died in 632 A.D. at the age of twenty-nine. The Chinese Emperor treated him as his brother and was so fond of him that he engraved an epitaph on his tomb as a mark of love and respect. The Siv and the Khe Li tribes now merged with the Khitai and began to pay taxes to the Chinese authorities.

Tu Li's son I Vi Ni Shu, became Khan of the Eastern Turks, and called himself Su Bi Li Khan. In 634 A.D., in a bid for complete independence, he conspired with his uncle and other nobles to attack the Chinese Emperor, but they were defeated and taken prisoners. Si Bi Li Khan was banished north of the Hwang Ho, while his uncle and the other nobles were executed.

After their defeat, some of the Khan's men fled to Turkestan, others sought refuge with Se Yun Da, while others again, preferred to settle in China. The Turks were a constant source of trouble to the Chinese. Although crushed and destroyed again and again, in the course of a few years they would gather sufficient strength to return in their hordes. With them, treachery was a matter of policy and they used threats and cajolement alternately in order to secure their objectives. Wei Chang, an important Chinese statesman of that period, gave it as his advice that they should be sent north of the Hwang Ho and many were inclined to agree with him. But the Chinese Emperor, Tai Sung, was an extremely just and generous ruler, so that, in spite of their treacherous nature he was not prepared to deny the Turks those rights as human beings which he considered could be claimed universally by all, irrespective of race or creed. "These poor remnants of a defeated race have sought shelter with me", he said, "and if I can teach them to change their ways I do not think they will do any harm. When we gave shelter to the Huns they did not harm us, and if we trust the Turks and allow them to live in their own way, using their military services when necessary, no harm can come of it. On the other hand if we try to force Chinese customs on them we shall be making a grave mistake, because that will render them suspicious."

From 647 - 82, a local Khan, Che Bi, ruled the Irtish valley, his kingdom including the Khirgiz living north and south of the valley. Che Bi sent his son to the Chinese court but refused to go himself whereupon the Chinese Army was sent against him and brought him to the Court by force (649 A.D.). At this time the three Kurlok tribes had occupied the Turbagtai territory and on different occasions had come under the domination of the Eastern and Northern Turks, but now they decided to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty. It was in this very year that Tai Sung died and was succeeded by Kau Sung Thang, but as the latter was a minor the kingdom was actually controlled by Tai Sung's mistress, Wu Ke. For the next twenty years peace reigned in China, but in 679 A.D, the Turks again revolted against their Chinese overlords.

The Turkish Prince Hu Pei had proclaimed himself heir to Si Bi Li Khan. He was the direct descendent of Khe Li Khan, but as he was not fair-complexioned like the Turks, he was looked upon as being no true Turk but as a member belonging to the Hu tribe. He was given land in the area between the northern bend of the Hwang Ho and the Gobi desert and his tribe was thought to have consisted of a hundred thousand souls of whom forty thousand were regular soldiers. The internal revolt in China had not yet been quelled. Meanwhile the Thang dynasty made a successful attempt to annex Korea and Hu Pei joined the battle to prove his loyalty. This was China's first victory over

Korea. Hu Pei was mortally wounded in the battle for although Tai Sung himself sucked the blood from the wound he could not save his life. The Chinese Emperor caused his grave to be dug beside his father's tomb and built a memorial for him in his former kingdom near the banks of the Pe Tau River. Ho Pei was the last of the To Ba Khans. He was not accepted as Khan of the entire Eastern Turkish Empire, but was only a local Khan who ruled over the Irtish valley.

The Turkish Ashena Dynasty

We may gain an idea of the depths to which the Turks of this period had sunk from the following stone inscriptions—

> "After Tu Min his brothers Mu Yu and To Ba succeeded as Khans and later his sons came to the throne. Among the Turks one brother fought against another, the son intrigued against the father. The Khans were generally stupid and cowardly and were looked upon with suspicion by the people. In such a situation it was easy for the Chinese to incite the people against the Khans and to divide their forces. The Turks were thus responsible for their own ruin which utlimately forced them to a status of slavery under the Chinese."

The inscriptions go on to lament the fate of the Turks and to deplore the fact that in spite of the great sacrifices made by the Turkish people they had sunk so low.

Il Te Res or Gu Du Lu Khan (682 - 93 A. D.), was an Ashenian Prince. Distantly related to Khe Li and one of his important chieftains, he took advantage of the discontent prevailing among the Turks. While the people had their grievances against the Chinese, they had lost all confidence in the Khans of the To Ba dynasty. Using bribery and intrigue as his weapons Il Te Res succeeded in placing himself at the head of a number of Turkish tribes. Then he organised many successful raids and was able to amass huge wealth. He soon proclaimed himself Khan and distributed titles to his brothers. He himself was called Gu Du Lu Khan. Finding that his growing strength was becoming a source of danger, the Empress Wu sent an army against him but it was defeated by the Khan. He then turned his attention to the Western Turks who lived in the Sujia, Ili and Issikul valleys and while engaged in war against them he met his death. At that time the capital of the Western Turks, Ju Ju, was situated on the banks of the Chu River. Ton Yu Kuk, one of the trusted advisers of Gu Du Lu dreamed of restoring the old glories of the Turks. The Chinese had released him in the hope that he would work against the Turks, but Ton Yu Kuk decided to throw in his lot with Gu Du Lu, though with the Khan's death his influence waned.

Mo Cho, the Bold

During the reign of Mo Cho, the brother of Gu Du Lu, the Turkish Empire recovered some of its old glory. Gu Du Lu had been an elected king but Mo Cho was a believer in dictatorial methods. From the day he succeeded as Khan he began to plunder Shansi. The Empress Wu sent an army against him led by eighteen officers under the command of a Buddhist monk, but their campaign ended in failure, many of the soldiers and officers of the Chinese army being captured and the Buddhist monk being whipped to death. In 694 A.D., to the great delight of the Empress, Mo Cho paid a visit to the Chinese court, and was immediately given a dukedom and presented with five thousand bales of silk. The latter sent his emissaries to negotiate a treaty and became a powerful ally of the Chinese. In 696 A.D., when the Khitai ruler rebelled and declared himself the Supreme Khan, it was Mo who fought against him even after the defeat of the Chinese and succeeded in routing the rebel army and in annexing his kingdom. Most of the Uigur tribes surrendered to him, while others fled beyond the Gobi desert. Under the powerful blows of Mo Cho the Western Turkish Empire also began to break up. Their last Khan, Asin Sin, was killed in Kulan (modern Tarmi) in 708 A.D. Mo Cho was the most honoured man at the Chinese Court and the Emperors awarded him the titles "The Great Shanyu and The Religious Khan".

In 709 A.D., Mo Cho sent a proposal to the queen mother Wu that she should give her daughter in marriage to him, adopt him as her son and that all Turks in China should be placed at his disposal together with seeds and implements for cultivation. Mo Cho was far-sighted enough to realise that as long as the Turks were not made to give up their nomadic life and forced to settle down to that of the cultivator they could not be tamed. At first the queen mother hesitated and sent her emissary to temporize. This threw Mo Cho into rage and as he threatened to kill the emissary the queen was forced to give in and thousands of Turks were sent to Mo Cho along with a hundered thousand maunds of grain for seed and a large number of agricultural implements. Mo Cho prospered and his military strength grew.

Later on in response to Mo Cho's desire to marry his daughter to a Thang Prince the Empress sent him her step-nephew, but Mo Cho felt insulted. He had wanted a Thang Prince and not this upstart from the Wu family, so he placed the Wu prince under arrest and marched out his armies to Kalgan and Peking. After defeating the Chinese armies that had been sent to stop his advance he burnt and looted town after town in Shansi province, and slew every living being who crossed his path. The Empress nicknamed him "The Butcher", but Mo Cho was not to be deterred by this in his campaign of loot and slaughter. The Empress tried to rally her forces once more under the command of her step-son Baklol, but Mo Cho was irresistible. The following year he again sent his army on a campaign of loot and plunder and in a raid on Kansu he seized ten thousand horses and annexed vast territories.

In 710 A.D., Mo Cho once again sent his ambassador to ask for a Thang Prince for his daughter and as by this time the Empress had been cowed into submission she sent both Princes to the ambassador who chose one of them. The queen mother's days were coming to an end and plots were being hatched against her. As a result Kau Chung seized the throne. At this precise juncture Mo Cho raided Ling Chao from which place he seized ten thousand horses and in 711 A.D., he defeated the Turgis and killed their Khan. His kingdom now extended the 3000 miles from Korea to Central Asia and the Khitai and the Khe Li tribes began to send tribute to the Turks, just as had their ancestors to the Huns. By the beginning of the 8th Century A.D. Mo Cho had become the most powerful man in Central Asia and the Chinese Emperor was at his mercy. This was the period when the Arab Empire also had spread from the Indus as far as Spain and embraced parts of the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. These were then the two largest empires in Europe and Asia. But they never came into conflict.

Mo Cho's army could boast of a corps of four hundred thousand mounted archers and in 714 A.D. he launched an attack on Urum Chi (modern Sinkiang). This was an important administrative centre for the Chinese as it not only controlled the Silk Route, but, was an outpost against the Northern Nomads.

Mo Cho was unvanquished till the last, but his conquests had turned his head and even some of his closest friends could not tolerate his high-handedness and left him. The Chinese gave shelter to all such refugees and settled them in Aurdus Province. In 714 A.D. Mo Cho led a successful expedition against the Ting Ling north of the Gobi desert. These fierce tribes in Siberia were a menace to Mo Cho and in 716 A.D. he inflicted a crushing defeat on them. According to certain historians Mo Cho, careless as always of his personal safety, was waylaid and killed while returning from this battle by the Baikals who sent his head to the Chinese. Other sources state that it was his nephew Baigu who was responsible for his death. It is also possible that while the Baikals actually killed him it was Baigu, who was the instigator of his death. Again it is thought that though Mo Cho's son Vi Ga (Vo Gu) was unable to succeed to the throne he was the rightful heir to his father's territories.

Having killed his uncle, Kyul Te Gin raised his elder brother, Gu Du Lu's son, to the throne (716 A.D.). He was called Mo Gil Yan. During the reign of Gu Du Lu democracy had prevailed among the Turks and it was this that helped Gu Du Lu to succeed. Mo Cho, however, had no sympathy for such sentiments and completely ignored the rights of the people. Discontent was rife among the Turks for the loss of their liberties. Mo Cho did not trust them in positions of authority, but preferred to man his administration with people from some of the more developed tribes in his empire. He would also have liked to turn the Turks into agriculturists, but although some of them were not averse to it the nobles, who were used to a life of loot and plunder which brought them thousands of slaves to look after their cattle, tend the land and perform other services, resented the change. It was the slaves who were the source of the prosperity of the Turks. In the reign of Mo Cho the noble had lost much of his freedom and was obliged to play the role of cringing courtier, but Mo Cho's nephew, Kyul Te Gin, followed in the footsteps of his father and organised a revolt against his uncle.

Mo Gil Yan (716-35 A.D.).

After the murder of Mo Cho, Kyul Te Gin the king-maker, called a meeting of all the Turkish nobles, incited them against Mo Cho's family and succeeded in getting the latter's sons and other members of his family killed. Mo Gil Yan, Te Gin's brother, a man of mild temperament, had been the ruler of a province. He was content with the post and would have preferred that his brother should be the Khan, but circumstances compelled him to take control of the kingdom. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Turkish central authority at this time, the Turgis, the Khitai and the Gheris, broke away from the Turkish Empire and declared themselves independent. The Turgis tribe grew so powerful indeed that the Chinese Court began to accord their ambassador first place at the court and the Turks were never able to establish their domination again over the eastern tribes.

Mo Gil Yan appointed his old father-in-law Tun Yu Kuk as his adviser. Mo Gil Yan had sought shelter with the Chinese in the reign of Mo Cho, but the Turks now felt the need for him and he was sent for. The Chinese had disarmed the Turks who had settled in the Aurdus province of China and sent them beyond the Hwang Ho, but without arms the Turks could neither hunt nor defend themselves, and when they presently rose against the Chinese they were massacred in large numbers. Mo Gil Yan was anxious to loot and plunder the Chinese borders in revenge, but was dissuaded from doing so by Tun Yu Kuk who reminded him that the crop that year had been good and that the Turks needed rest.

Mo Gil Yan was a Buddhist which is the probable explanation of his extraordinarily mild temperament. He would have liked to erect Buddhist shrines and build fortified towns, but was again dissuaded from doing so by Tun Yu Kuk, who told him that the secret of the strength of the Turks lay in their being nomads who were able to attack and loot when necessary and to retreat and hide when outnumbered by the enemy. If they were to construct towns the enemy would succeed sooner or later in subjugating them entirely.

Moreover, he explained, Buddhism made men weak and he alone could rule who was strong and ready to fight. Tun Yu Kuk's advice was much appreciated both by the Turkish court and by the King.

Though himself a man of peace, Mo Gil Yan was the Khan of a tribe that could not live without war and bloodshed and the Chinese were never free of menace of warfare because of them. In 720 A.D., the Chinese Minister in Aurdus, advised the Emperor to attack the Turks living on the banks of the Kera River and the Khitai and the Gheris of the East and the Bismirs of the West sided with the Chinese in the campaign. Mo Gil Yan succeeded in defeating the armies sent against him and won back much of the former empire of Mo Cho. He then sent a demand to the Emperor that he should be recognised as the Emperor's heir and given the King's daughter in marriage. The first of these demands was complied with, but the second was refused.

The Chinese considered the combination of Tun Yu Kuk, the wise minister, Mo Gil Yan the young king and Gu Du Lu's elder son, the warrior, a danger for them, so they laid a trap for the three Turkish leaders by inviting them to a journey to the summits of the Thai Shan mountain for sacrificial rites. When the Chinese emissary entered the tent of Mo Gil Yan with this proposal he found that the king's wife and father-in-law were also there and ready to pour out their complaints. "The Chinese have given their daughters to the foul Tibetans and even to the Gheris and Khitai who were once our vassals. But they did not agree to enter into an alliance with us." "The Khan sought to be recognised as the Emperor's son." Replied the Chinese emissary. "How then he could expect the Emperor's daughter in marriage ?" "That could also have been said of the Khitai and the Gheris." Objected Mo Gil Yan, "besides, we know that it is not the Emperor's own daughters who are sent in marriage."

The reference here was to the marriage of the Chinese Princess, an adopted daughter of the Emperor Jui Sung, to a Tibetan king. From this marriage was born Swen Chang, the Emperor who gave his daughters in marriage to the Khitai and the Gheri.

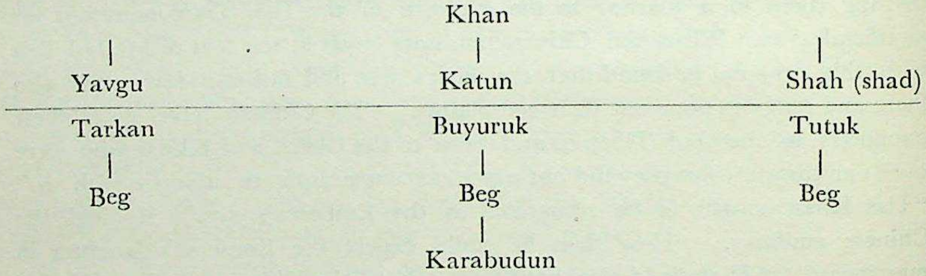
The Chinese emissary assured the Turkish leaders that he would represent their complaints to the Emperor. But nothing came of them.

The Tibetans were also dissatisfied with the Chinese, so they sent a secret letter to the Turks asking them to join in an attack against the Chinese. Mo Gil Yan, however, handed over the letter to the Chinese. The Emperor was delighted by this and agreed to start trade relations with the Turks and to pay them a sum of money every year. It is in this period that we find tea being used as an object of trade and barter instead of horses.

Mo Gil Yan's rule was highly beneficial to the Turks. Although they had lost both the Ili valley and Manchuria, which had been part of Mo Cho's empire, Turkish power had not declined. With his death, however, the Empire began to break up rapidly. Four khans succeeded Mo Gil Yan : Izanya, (735-39 A.D.), the son of Mo Gil Yan, Vigya Gu Du Lu (739-42 A. D.), brother of Izanya, Ozmish (742-44 A. D.), son of the Eastern Khan and Wai Mei Khan Khulun Phu (744-47 A.D.). This was a period of assassinations and coups during which there were repeated risings against the luxury-loving Khans. The Uigurs, Karloks and Bismirs joined hands, revolted under the leadership of the Uigur Chief Moyun Chura and murdered Wai Mei.

Thus for two centuries the Turks ruled over a vast Empire. After their downfall in 743 A.D. the Uigurs took their place, but as far as the common people were concerned this made no difference. The very tribe that had been called Turkish now began to be called the Uigur tribe. In fact, from the point of view of language and culture there was hardly any difference between the two.

The Turkish tribe was organised according to the following pattern :



CHAPTER 7

THE WESTERN TURKS

(580-704 A.D.)

Western Asia was in direct contact with the Turks for it was the latter that replaced the white Huns in Afghanistan and Central Asia. But in India the white Huns were replaced by the Arabs. However, the Turks continued the fight and later on, having embraced Islam, they emerged again as rulers. Mahmud Ghaznavi was a Turk—so were the early Muslim dynasties Ghulam Khilji and Tughlak. Thus the Western Turks played an important role, not only in the history of Central Asia, but in that of India.

It was Dalo Byan who laid the foundations of the Western Turkish Empire in the territory occupied by the Wusuns. During the lifetime of Dalo Byan the Western limit of this Empire was Lake Balkash. On the North it was bounded by the deserts that lie beyond the Altai mountains. The Southern tribes of the Western Turkish Empire lived near Kulja north-west of Harashar, while those of the North dwelt near Emil, which was eight stages away. Kashgar and perhaps modern Tashkend were also situated within this Empire. The Ting Ling, Karlok, Turkis tribes were under their domination, as were the Turks living in the deserts north-west of Hami. Apart from them, the Tukhars of the Terim valley and the Sogdhians of the Chu and Tuls valley were also part of their kingdom. The language, customs and manners of almost all the tribes, except the Sogdhians and Kuchis, were similar to those of the Turks. The titles used by the Western Turks more or less resembled those used by the Eastern Turks.

Chulo Khan, brother of Sho Bolio Kagan, set out to fight Dalo Byan and succeeded in capturing him.

For a short time Issi Gin, the son of Tu Min, ruled as the Khan, but he was soon succeeded by Han So De Le, who called himself Nila Khan. There were hardly any changes in the empire during his reign. His son Damo succeeded him. Later he came to be known as Cho Lu Khan. He was living in the Ili Valley near Kulja. When he came to the throne a number of Governors under him ruled over the provinces. The Chinese Emperor, Yang Ti, attacked and defeated Cho Lu, who was forced thereafter to accept Chinese suzerainty and to die fighting for the Chinese in Korea. Hossena and

Dere Damo, two of Cho Lu's Governors or Sub-Kagans, had accompanied him to the Chinese court and had taken part in the establishment of the Thang dynasty in China. Dere Damo died in 638 A.D. and as Yang Ti refused to allow Hossena to return to his native land, She Gui, who had been acting Kagan in Cho Lu's absence, was elected by the Western Turks as their Khan.

She Gui was the first Khan of the Western Turks who succeeded in expanding the empire. He pushed the frontiers of his Kingdom as far as the Altai mountains in the North and the Caspian Sea in the West, while in the East his kingdom extended up to the Great Wall of China. All the nomadic tribes of the West owed allegiance to him.

She Gui was succeeded in 619 A.D. by his younger brother who continued the task of extending the Western Turkish Empire begun by his brother. This younger brother surpassed the record of his elder brother, She Gui, in this regard. It was in 619 A.D. also that the Thang dynasty had succeeded that of the Sui on the Chinese throne. Tun She Khu, who was a great military general pursued a policy of alternately placating and attacking the Chinese. It was he who brought the Ting Ling on his North under his sway ; drove away the Iranians on his West and extended the boundaries of his kingdom right up to Kabul, inflicting a severe defeat in so doing on the white Huns.

At this time Khusro II was ruling over Iran and trying desperately to defend his kingdom against the attacks of the Greco-Roman Emperor Heraclius. The Abors and the Khajars, descendants of the Huns, had established powerful kingdoms on the western shores of the Caspian and the Volga and they joined in the attacks on the Iranians. By 599 A.D. the Kirshal and White Hun rulers of Hirat and Balakh had accepted Turkish domination and they aided the Turks in their campaign against the Iranians.

At first Tun She Khu established the capital of his kingdom at Kulja but later shifted it to Tashkend and all the kings of Turkestan accepted him as their sovereign. The Western Turkish Empire had now reached the zenith of its glory. To secure friendship Tun She Khu sent for a stork's egg from Mesopatamia and sent it as a gift to the Chinese Emperor who thereupon sought his help against Khe Li Khan. Tun She Khu began preparations for the attack, but Khe Li's entreaties succeeded in securing his neutrality.

On the occasion of the Chinese Emperor's coronation in 627 A.D., Tun She Khu sent him many valuable presents. These included five thousand horses and a waist-band studded with thousands of gold nails but Khe Li, who did not desire a resumption of relations between the Western Turks and the Chinese, threatened to waylay the caravan.

At the time when the great Chinese traveller Swen Chang, was writing his travel notes, Tun She Khu was ruling over the Western Turkish Empire. Swen Chang actually travelled through Tun She Khu's kingdom and reached Karashar at about 630 A. D. It was already independent then. The famous town of Kucha, 200 li south-west of Karashar, was described by Swen Chang as having an abundance of rice, grapes, pomegranates, pears and peaches, besides gold, copper and iron. The Indian Script (Gupt-Brahmi) in a slightly changed form was used for writing and the people were skilled musicians. They wore woollen robes and turbans. Gold, silver and copper coins were used as currency. There were no less than a hundred Buddhist shrines in the town and these accommodated five thousand Buddhist monks of the Realist School who had no scruples about eating animal flesh. "Just outside the Western gate of the town on either side of the road", says Swen Chang in his notes on Kucha, "stood two huge ninety-foot statues of Buddha. This was the site of the regular quinquennial congregation of the Buddhists. Every year the monks and priests held annual meeting there at the close of the autumn season to celebrate their great ten-day long religious festival, while the whole population ceased work, fasted and listened to religious discourses. During the festival all the images of the Lord Buddha were decorated with pearls and brocade and paraded through the streets. The processions kept swelling in number as they proceeded. On the other side of the river stood the miraculous shrine which had huge chambers and most artistic statues of Buddha. This shrine was visited by scholars from far-off lands whom the people entertained with great hospitality."

Swen Chang went from Kucha to the Pamir plateau. Describing his journey to that place he writes. "Three hundred li north-west of Po Lu Ka lies Ling Shan, the cold mountain. The northern part of Chung Ling begins at this place. The rivers flow eastwards, the roads are dangerous, and a cold biting wind blows all the time... After travelling another 400 li one comes to the Tapt Sagar Lake which is a thousand li in circumference. It stretches from east to west and is girt about by mountains on all sides. Its water is brackish and abounds in fish."

From here Swen Chang is most likely to have proceeded along the Chu valley and journeying five hundred miles to the north-west reached the town of Shu Se, which was inhabited mainly by traders from different places. It produced wheat, grapes and other kinds of fruit, but most of the places were barren and cold. The people wore woollen clothes. To the west of it were a number of towns with their own rulers who nevertheless accepted Turkish suzerainty.

"The areas from Shu Se to Kasanna is populated by the Sogdhians, who use a script with 20 alphabets written in vertical columns. They wear woollen robes lined with leather or cotton and many of them shave their heads and bind their foreheads with silken kerchiefs. Though tall of stature they are generally cowardly and treacherous. Wealth is the only basis for rank but even the wealthy live and dress simply."

"Another 400 li to the West of this area lay the Ping Yu Lake. To the South of this are the Alexander mountains ; on all other sides there are plains. In the spring, there is a blossoming of flowers of varigated hues and the land is fertile and well-forested. There are a thousand springs and pools hereabouts, hence it is known as Long Yu (the thousand streams). The Turkish Khan uses this place as his summer resort. The area abounds in deer which are tamed and cared for and the killing of which is punishable with death."

Soon after he become the Khan, Tun She Khu shifted his capital to this town. Swen Chang has described his meeting with Tun She Khu in the following words : "She Khu Kagan was just preparing to go out on a hunting expedition. He was dressed in a green satin robe but his hair was unkempt and a white silk kerchief was bound round his head. He was accompanied by two hundred officials who wore embroidered robes and had long hair. Other attendants dressed in tweeds, waited on horseback with spears, bows and other weapons." The Khan expressed his delight at Swen Chang's visit and invited him to stay in his camp during the few days when he would be out on a hunting trip. He directed his personal minister to attend to Chang. On his return Swen Chang was taken to the Khan's tent, which he describes as follow. "The tent was decorated with gold and that dazzled the eyes. Courtiers sat on carpets in rows on either side of the Khan. All of them wore brocade garments and a large number of attendants were busy administering to their needs." The Khan stepped out of his tent to receive Chang, who entered it after offering due salutations. "As the Turks were fire-worshippers they did not use wooden furniture. Carpets were used for sitting purposes, but for travellers and pilgrims an iron bench covered with a carpet had been set up. The Khan gave orders for wine to be served and music to be played, whereupon sounds of merriment and music filled the tent. Roasted meat was served in huge quantities. For the Chinese traveller, bread, milk, candy, honey and grapes were brought." Swen Chang further reports that the Khan was not well disposed towards India and he advised the traveller not to visit the country of the dark-skinned races.

Power seems to have turned the head of Tun She Khu. Many of these tribes in the Turkish Empire revolted against him and his reign came to an end when he was murdered by his uncle, Mo Khe Du.

The people, however, would not accept the uncle as their Khan, nor did the person selected by him agree to wear the crown of thorns. So the son of Tun She Khu, who had fled to Samarkand, was sent for and placed on the throne. He was called Kyu Li Si Bi Khan. His ascent to the throne did not bring the civil war to an end and the Ting Ling and Turkestan principalities rose in revolt. Kyu Li suffered serious defeats at their hands and Kipchuk, Afghanistan and parts of Iran seceded from the Western Turkish Empire. Nishu Mokha Khan and Shili De Le, the son of Tun She Khu intrigued with the Kungs and Kyu Li was forced to return to Samarkand.

Si She Khu, another son of Tun She Khu, succeeded to the throne, but the exact period of his reign is not known. He was obliged to face a number of internal rivals, chief among whom was Seni She Khu, and he had also to fight against the Sayends of the Tuls valley. He ultimately succeeded in defeating them all.

Not much is known about Nishu De Lu Khan who succeeded him. He was followed by his younger brother Tun Bo Sho (634-38), who assumed the title "Shobolo Khilish" Khan. During his reign a number of administrative reforms were introduced and the kingdom was divided into ten parts. According to Chinese writers he was not a popular ruler and it was he who was responsible for the maladministration and internal strife that were a feature of his reign.

Ibi Du Lu Khan (641 A.D.) who came to the throne next was obliged to engage in a number of fierce battles with the Kungs, but he succeeded in defeating them. Thousands of Kungs were forced to work as slaves for his own use and this excited the anger of his commander Nishu Cho, who tried to take forcible possession of his share. Ibi Khan ordered that the commander be executed and his head hung up in a public place as an example. Internal strife thus continued to grow. Ibi Sho Bolo She Khu succeeded Ibi Khan to the throne in 651 A.D., with the aid of the Chinese. It was natural, therefore, that he should accept every one of the terms imposed by them. Kucha, Kashgar, Khotun, Chu Jui Bo and Chung Ling had been handed over to the Chinese as early as 646 A. D. But this had not assuaged their thirst for more territory and they planned to reduce the Khan to the position of a petty chieftain under them. But the Turkish Khan, as the ruler of an indomitable nomadic tribe, was not prepared to endure this and a fierce clash with the Chinese ensued. The Chinese were victorious and for a time the Turkish Empire became a part of China.

The last Kagan of the Tu Min dynasty was Asina Sin. The Asina was the parent tribe of both the Western and Eastern Turks. The last few rulers of this dynasty had all proved themselves thoroughly incompetent and so with the death of Asina Sin in 708 A.D., the dynasty ended and the rival Turgis branch came into power led by Soge.

It was at this time that the Arabs began to grow in strength.

They had entered Afghanistan and Iran, and in 689 A. D., the Arab Commander-in-Chief, Musa Vin Abdulla Bin Hazim, had crossed the Amu River and established his capital in Termiz where he ruled till 704 A. D. In 705 A. D. the Arabs entered the Surkhan valley and by 712 A. D. they occupied the province of Shaganyan and unfurled the flag of Islam over the ancient land of Khworezm. Within another year the Arab general Kutaib marched towards Samarkand and the same year saw the construction of the first mosque in Bokhara.

Soge was the son of Bu Chin, the Turgis Chieftain. The Turgis were a branch of the Eastern Turks who inhabited the region between the Chu and Ili valleys. As he proved to be too oppressive a ruler, Bu Chin was removed from his position by the tribe. So taking his son, Soge, with him he fled to the Chinese court. While there he tried to establish his control over the province of Kashgar, and his son Soge succeeded in arranging for the assassination of the representative of the Ochir tribe who was trying to bribe the Chinese Defence Minister against them. Soge later defeated Asina Sin also and became the Khan of the Western Turks, but his rule proved short-lived, for in 709 A. D., he was murdered by Mo Cho, the Khan of the Eastern Turks.

Sulu (716-38 A.D.), was the last of the Turkish Khans. The Arabs gave him the nickname of Abu Muzahim (Prince of Quarrelers). Su lu was fortunate that the Arabs who ruled over Iran and Central Asia had split into two and were engaged in bitter strife amongst themselves. In 724 A.D., a bloody battle was fought between them in Forkan and this was a golden opportunity for Su Lu.

Su Lu was aware of the fact that to his East lay the powerful Chinese Empire, while from the West the Arabs were advancing as in a flood-tide and the Eastern Turks, his kinsmen were bitterly hostile. He realised therefore that he must proceed with the utmost caution and he made overtures to China for an alliance. The Emperor Swen Chang was much delighted and having conferred the title "Chung Sung" (Prince) upon him, sent him the great-granddaughter of Bu Chin as a bride. Some time later, in revenge for the insulting behaviour of a Chinese Minister towards his wife, Su Lu sacked Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha and Su Jya, all of which had been handed over to the Chinese by the former Khan. But China was not strong enough to take any action against him.

Su Lu was popular with his men. As he was not avaricious he made a fair distribution of the spoils of war, thereby becoming sure of the support of his people. Realising the danger that threatened from the Arabs, he entered into an alliance with the Tibetans and the Eastern Turks and attacked Samarkand. Meanwhile to cement his friendship with the Tibetans, Chinese and Eastern Turks, he married their princesses. Gradually however, his strength began to decline, and because the Turks love only the strong his popularity also began to wane. But his prestige was high enough even in 730 A. D. for his ambassador to demand first place in the Chinese court and to challenge the ambassador of the Eastern Turks. The Chinese Emperor resolved the conflict by giving them an equal status. Su Lu died in 738 A.D. in the course of a battle between the Khirgiz and the Turks and with the death of his sons the Turgis dynasty came to an end in 766 A.D.

By 742 A.D. the Turgis and Khirgiz tribes had fallen under the domination of the satrap of Urumchi, but their quarrels did not cease. The Chinese now ruled over a vast empire which spread from Indo-China in the south to the Pamirs on the west, but a number of Tibetan and Shan tribes continued to disturb its peace. In 780 A.D. the Karloks established their domination over the Khirgiz and the Turks and the Uigurs swallowed up the remnants of Su Lu's dynasty. After the break-up of the Uigur kingdom the Bukin tribes occupied Harashar and till it reached its last days the Thang dynasty knew no peace because of them.

Till the rule of Muyu, the third Khan of the Turks, the Turkish empire had not been split into western and eastern parts. When Muyu's brother Toba Khan succeeded to the throne, Dalo Byan, the son of Muyu, tried to dethrone him. After his uncle's death, Dalo Byan split the empire and founded the Western Turkish Empire. From the time of Toba Buddhist influence had been dominating and was growing but the white Hun ruler Torman was probably still under Scythian influence, as is shown by his erection of the sun temple in Gwalior. His son Mithdat has been called an enemy of Buddhism. After the coming of the Turks, however, Buddhism began to spread again.

Chule Kagan (605 A.D.) Damo (Dharm), which was the name of Nili's son is enough to reveal the influence of Buddhism over the Turks. He lived mostly in the Ili valley and the provinces were in the hands of governors (Yuvgus), one of whom ruled over the southern area as far as the banks of the Vakhshu (the borders of the Sasani empire). Nausherwan's son and heir was the grandson of Muyu Khan, but he had on one side of him the might of Rome and on the other the Turks.

Chule Khan's governor attacked the Sasani Empire with a huge army and succeeded in reaching Hirat. The Romans too launched an attack on Syria. The Khajars, who were descendents of the Huns, were unceasingly active in the Iranian frontiers west of the Caspian. From the south, the Arabs had marched against Iraq and the Turkish general grew so bold as to send a letter to the Iranian King, Hormuzd, saying : "Keep the roads and bridges in good condition. I wish to go across Iran to meet the Romans."

Hormuzd's general, Behram, faced the Turks with a few thousand picked soldiers and defeated them in battle, killing the Turkish general, Shav. He seized huge booty from the Turks and sent it to the Shah of Iran carried by a quarter of a million camels. Behram fought against the Romans also, but was unsuccessful and as a consequence, he was dismissed. Thereafter he revolted against his king and succeeded in dethroning him.

The struggle between the Iranians and the Turks continued throughout the reign of Khusro II (590-628 A.D.) At the same time the Iranians scored some success against the Romans.

During the rule of the two brothers She Gui (618-619) and Tun She Khu (619), the Turkish empire grew considerably, although their contemporary, Khusro, was no weakling either. She Gui extended the the Turkish empire as far as the shores of the Caspian on the west and to the great wall of China on the east. His brother Tun She Khu drove the Sasanis out of Afghanistan and annexed it to his empire.

At this time Iran had to face three powerful enemies, Tun She Khu on the east, the Khajar Khan on the north and the victorious Emperor Heraclius on the west. While these four powers were contending for supremacy a new one was growing in the deserts of Arabia. About the time Swen Chang was engaged in his famous travels inside Central Asia and India, and the Arabs were conquering Jajdgurd and had soon become masters of the Sasani empire. Tun She Khu was thus faced with a new menace on his frontiers.

Tun Vo She (634-638), succeeded his father Tun She Khu as Khan of the Turks. The Arabs were not yet powerful enough to face a clash with the Turks but the latter gradually began to come under Chinese domination, so that by the time of Asinasin (708), the Turkish Empire had fallen and the Sir, Jarphasan and Amu valleys, had been wrested from thir grasp.

Like other nomads, the Turks divided up their kingdom into provinces ruled by Governors who were their own brothers, sons or nephews. Whenever the authority of the centre grew weak these governors set themselves up as independent Khans. It was with these governors that the Arabs clashed, and their writers generally mention them as their rivals rather than the Khan himself.

By the beginning of the 9th century A.D. the Turkish Empire had completely crumpled, though its formal dissolution had taken place as early as 757 A.D. when the Turks acknowledged Chinese suzerainty.

A number of other tribes, such as the Bukku, Puki, Terankal, Tunglo, Baikal, Guser, Adir, Kibir (Chipiyu), Kuk, Ugui, Sib, Ghei and Khitai, continued to exist for a long time.

The Bukku, which was the northernmost tribe, could mobilise ten thousand soldiers but was socially backward. At first under the domination of the Gheiris, they were later to be dominated by the Sayend. By 725 A.D. they had merged completely with the Chinese.

The Tarankal lived West of the Bukku tribe and they too could also muster a force of ten thousand. They were first heard of in the Chinese Court in 648 A.D.

The Tung-lo lived North West of Sayend and had a force of 15,000 at their command. They merged ultimately with the Uigurs.

The Baikal tribe was named after the famous Siberian Lake. A strange peculiarity of the region was that wood petrified there within two years. The language of the Baikals was similar to that of the Ting Ling tribe.

The Gusers of the Udirs lived north of the Tarangkal tribe, while the Kibirs lived to their south. The Kuk tribe lived 170 miles north-east of the Baikals and reared reindeer. The Ugui lived fifteen stages east of the Kuks, while the Sib, Ghie and Khitai, lived further to the east.

In the Travel Notes of Swen Chang, it has been said, "about 140 to 150 li west and about fifty li south of Taras there is a village inhabited by Chinese prisoners. Their dress is similar to that of the Turks but they speak the Chinese language.

"Mankand, 15 miles north-east of modern Chimkent, is more fertile than the Taras area. Forty to 50 miles to the south is Nujkand. The land here is exceedingly fertile and fruits of all kinds grow in plenty, especially grapes. This area which includes about a hundred villages and towns is an autonomous one and governed by their own ruler. Tashkend is ruled by a separate Turkish ruler." Fargana, a thousand li south-east of Tashkend was not visited by Swen Chang himself. He has recorded in his notes the accounts that he was able to gather from various sources.

"The area is surrounded by mountains on all sides. The land is rich, fruits grow in plenty. Tending of sheep and horses is the main occupation of the people. The winters are severe and bleak, winds blow across the region. Their language differs from that of other peoples. For ten years they have had no ruler and numerous chiefs are contending for power. The defences and frontiers of the region are provided by rivers and other natural barriers."

The Chinese had known of this region since the time of Chang-Kyan, but at that time the Chinese name for it was Sha Wang and for its capital—Ui Shan.

Su Tu Li Se : This was the Chinese name for Ausrushana, which is now called Uratyube. This lies east of the She river which Swen Chang describes as originating in the Pamirs. He has called this the "swift and muddy stream". It was ruled by a king who was under Turkish Khan.

Samarkand : The ancient name of this place was Sogdh. It was quite a fertile land even in the time of Swen Chang, for trees and flowers grew everywhere and it was famous for its beautiful horses. It was an important trading centre, the inhabitants being intelligent, resourceful and good craftsmen. It was the centre of the Turkish Empire and its customs were a model for all. The king was bold and liberal, had an excellent army at his command and neighbouring kings paid tribute to him, while his soldiers were brave and cared little for death.

Regarding their religion, Swen Chang writes that they were fire-worshippers. Buddhists were not well treated there though two Vihars (monasteries) were built for them. A young Buddhist priest who was accompanying Swen Chang went to one of the Vihars for prayer and this so enraged the people that they attacked and burnt it. The king however punished them for this act of incendiarism and made them listen to a religious discourse by Swen Chang.

Memeg situated south east of Samarkand and was called Mi Mo Ha by Swen Chang. The people here were similar to those in Samarkand. Mitan is stated by Swen Chang to have been north of Mi Mo Ha. Kushaniya was 300 li from Mitan. The remnants of the Kushan rule exist here to this day. He Han was 200 li from Kushaniya while Pu Ho (Bokhara) was four hundred li to the west. Phuti was 400 li west of Bokhara.

Khwarezm lay on both sides of the Vakhshu river. This region was about a hundred miles long and four to six miles broad.

Ka Swang Na (Kesh), sixty miles south-west of Samarkand, was also fertile with people similar to those in Samarkand.

Darband (Iron Gate) lay 40 miles south-west of Kesh. Swen Chang writes : "The foot-path is narrow and dangerous. Along the route that leads to it there is no habitation. Water and grass are scarce. After travelling 300 li across the mountains towards the south-west the valley of the Iron gate starts. Steep mountains stand on either side. The rocks have the colour of iron. There are gates with iron plates on which bells have been hung." This place is now known as Buzgelle and a stream flows in between.

Rashid's History states : "The Lauhdar stream meanders between high mountains for about 12 miles west of Darband".

The land of the Tukhars borders immediately beyond Darband. "Its boundaries are the Pamirs on the east, Iran on the west, Hindu Kush on the south and Darband on the west. The Vakhshu flows in between from east to west. Tukhar is divided among twenty seven nobles who are all under the Turkish Khan. In summer this area suffers from epidemic of malaria. After the winter and until the beginning of spring there is constant rain. Buddhist priests observe the rain festival from the 16th day of the 12th month to the 15th day of the 3rd month. The people are trustworthy. The region has a language of its own with twenty five characters which are written from top to the bottom and from left to the right. Cotton garments are more in use than those made of wool. The gold, silver and other coins in use are different from those in other countries. It is quite warm in summer and snow kept over from the winter is then used". About Termiz, the capital, he states : "The city is longer than it's breadth and stretches for four miles. There are two monasteries containing about a thousand Buddhist monks. The stupas and statues are artistically made".

Swagnan lies east of Termiz. It has five monasteries but very few monks. The province of Hu Lu Mo has two monasteries with more than a hundred monks. Su Min is east of it and has two Vihars with a few monks. The province of Ku Jun Na is situated south-west of the Vakhshu. There are three Vihars and more than a hundred monks. Hu Sho lies east of it. Further to the east stands Ko Tu Lo which goes right up to the Pamirs. Chung Ling is a settlement near the Vakhshu. Its neighbouring region is Shi Ki Ni. South of the Vakhshu are the following : Ta Mo Si Tiye Ti, Po To Chwang No, Yin Po Kan, Ku Lung Na, Hi Mo Ta La, Po Li Ho, Ki Li So Mo, Ko Le Hu etc.

Hu Lin is situated north-west of Ko Lu Si Min Kin and has ten monasteries and 500 monks. In Hu lived the general Tatu, son of She Khu Khan, who was also a brother-in-law of the Kushan king. He was poisoned by his wife and the province was ruled thenceforward by his stepmother and son. Pho Ho, west of Hu Lin was a famous city, with settlements stretching for five miles. It contained a hundred monasteries and 3000 monks. Outside the capital there is a monastery built by an old king. This is the only monastery beyond the Hindu Kush where there is a continuous tradition of the recitation of the commentaries of the scholars. It contains a statue of Buddha studded with Jewels and its rooms are full of valuables. It was plundered by many raiding kings, including the Turkish Khan, She Khu. It contains numerous other marvels, including a tooth of Buddha and a rod two feet long and seven inches thick studded with Jewels. North of the monastery there is a stupa which is also decorated with many valuables.

Yu Mei Ti is situated in one corner of the snow mountain south-west of Balakh. Hu She Kan is a mountaineous province full of valleys. Excellent horses are found there. To the north-west of this lies Tal Khan and to the west Parshu or Iran.

Ka Shi is one hundred miles south of Balakh. It is a mountaineous region, yet wheat and pulses grow in abundance. The place is extremely hot. It contains two vihars with 300 monks.

Bamiyan : South-west of the Hindu Kush mountains lies Bamiyan, a land of deep ravines in which blizzards and snowfalls are frequent and that is infested with gangs of murderous robbers. Bemiyan, the capital, is surrounded by steep mountains. There is good pasture for horses and sheep, the people are tough and hardy and they wear warm home-made woollens. Their customs and coins are like those of the Tukhars, but their language is somewhat different. There are Hindus as well as Buddhists amongst them. The king is of Scythian origin. There are ten monasteries with thousands of monks. North-west of the capital is a statue of the standing Buddha, 173 feet high, with a Buddhist vihar to the east of it. Further east is another statue of Buddha, 120 feet high.

From Bamiyan, Swen Chang came to Afghanistan and India. He has described a number of other places north of the Hindu Kush.

Kuo Si To : 300 miles north west of Andarab, was once in the Tukhar province and is now in Turkish hands. The land is plain and fit for cultivation where fruits and flowers grow in abundance. The climate is temperate. The people are honest but strongly emotional. They wear woollen clothes. Buddhism is the main religion. There are ten vihars with monks both of Mahayan and Hinayan faiths. The ruler is Turkish. East of this stand the Pamirs. Onions grow in plenty and it is this that has given the place its name, Chung Ling (onion mountain).

Men Kan is 100 miles east of Khost. Alini is situated north of it on both sides of the Vakhshu river, while Ho Li Hu is east of Alini and north of the Vakhshu. Ki Li She Me is 300 li east of Men Kan. To the north-west of it lies Po Li Ho. Ho Mo Tola is 300 li east of Ki Li She Me and consists of a series of mountains and valleys. It was formerly inhabited by Scythian kings, but later came under the Turks. The people live in tents made of felt and roam about, often going as far west as Ki Li She Me.

Po To Shangna (Badkhasan) : It forms the eastern part of Turkestan. The soil is rocky and sandy. Peas, wheat, grapes, walnuts, pears, plums and other fruits grow in this place. The people are culturally backward, but bold. They wear felt or worsted woollens. There are some Buddhist vihars and the ruler is also a Buddhist. To the south-west of this place stands Yinpo Kyan. It has mountain valleys that are cultivable. The climate and the people are similar to those of Badkhasan, but the language is different. The king is cruel and evil. Ku Lung Na, 300 li to the south-east has only a few Buddhists. There are gold mines in this area. Ta Mo Si Ti is 600 li to the north-east. This is also a part of ancient Tukharistan. It is cold and windy but peas and wheat are grown and it has a fine breed of horses. The people are short and ill-tempered. It has ten vihars.

After crossing the northern mountains Shi Kir Il (Shagnan) is reached. Except for peas and wheat there are no crops in this place and trees are scarce. The people are ferocious and are given to loot and plunder. South of this is Shangmir, which also produces wheat and grapes. The Tukhari script is used, but the language is different. The king is a Buddhist and is very powerful.

Seven hundred li to the north-east is Po Mi Le, a valley situated in the midst of snow-capped mountains. In spring and summer there are fierce blizzards and there is no cultivation. There is a big lake which contains water sweet to the taste and streams from it flow into the Vakhshu. All these streams flow in a westerly direction.

The last of the Turks

During the period of Swen Chang's travels in Central Asia, Balakh, Bamiyan, the Hindu Kush, Badkhasan and Belehan, were all under Turkish rule with Tun She Khu as their Khan. But, like their Hunnish ancestors, the Turkish nobles were virtual masters in their respective territories. Central authority gradually began to grow weak. Soge and Sul (704-757) tried hard to consolidate the empire, but had practically lost the southern zone of Central Asia to the Arabs. In Tukharistan, the Turks were at war with the Arabs at Bokhara and Sogdh.

As a symbol of their faith in Buddhism, the Turks erected a huge Buddhist monastery near the Sogdh river. The Turkish and Mongol word for Vihar was Bukhar, hence the name Bokhara. During the rule of the Hephtals, Barkasan was the main centre, but by the time the Arab attacks began, Bokhara had already become the most important town.

Some of the Turkish nobles had settled in Turkmarud, Berwane, Anwane and Noor and after they had made themselves free from central control they chose Averji as their ruler. Till that time Bokhara had not been built. Averji proved to be an extremely rapacious and cruel ruler who plundered the people, especially the traders. To escape from his clutches a number of Turkish traders settled in Jereket. Kurajurin, one of the Turkish kings, who always sided with the weak, sent his son, Sherekiswar, to take Averji as prisoner. Averji was tied up in a sack full of thorns and done to death, whereafter the Turks who had fled were invited back.

Sherekiswar ruled for thirty years. His successor Sokejaket built a number of towns. Barkasan had been the capital of the white Huns. It is said that a Chinese princess who was given in marriage to one of the Turkish rulers, brought with her a statue of the Lord Buddha and that it was to house this a vihar was built which later developed into the town of Bokhara.

Bendun

He ruled in the beginning of the Muslim era. Bokhara continued to develop in his reign. He had his name engraved on an iron plate and hung in front of his house. Arab historians who visited the place 500 years later found the plate still hanging with the name on it.

Tushade

He was the last king of Bokhara. As he was a minor the administration was in the hands of his mother who has been referred to by Arab historians as Khatun. He ruled for fifty years. It was his practice to go to the gate at Sunrise and to hold his court there surrounded by his nobles and officers. Traders shopkeepers and other interested persons would gather there to place their grievances before him. Every family sent one youth to serve in the king's bodyguard. There were ninety thousand noble families in Bokhara. Under pressure from the Arabs Tushude was forced to accept Aarb suzerainty. He became a Muslim and continued to rule for another thirty years as their vassel.

The king of Sogdh, Turkhun, continued to fight against the Arabs till the end. He sought the help of the Chinese and the Turks, but was forced ultimately to leave the country. A number of his inscriptions have recently been discovered by Soviet archaeologists in the mountains east of Samarkand.

Comparative Table of Turkish Dynasties

Year	India	Eastern Turks	Western Turks
540	Yashivarma	Tu-Min 559	Tu-Min 553
	(532-59)	Isi Ge ”	Isi Ge ”
	Harivarma	Mu Yu 553-69	Mu Yu 553-69
		To Ba 569-70	To Ba 569-70
		She Tu 582-87	Dalo Byan 580
		Dulun 587-600	
600	Harsha	Datu Buga 600-605	Chu Lo 605
	(606-648)	Khe Li 628	She Gui 618-19
			Tun She Khu 619
		Tu Li 628-691	
		Sui Bi Li 631-647	Nishe Du Lu 651
640	Arjun 642	Che Bi 647-52	Ibi Shobolo 651
660		Gu Du Lu 682-693	
700		Mo Cho 693-713	Asina Sin 708
			Soge 708-9
720	Yashovarma	Mo Gil Yan 716-33	Su Lu 709-738
	725-52		

We have seen how the struggle between the Scythians, Huns and Chinese, determined the course of history in Central Asia. As far as the northern plateau of Central Asia is concerned it was first inhabited by the Scythians. The Yuchis, Tukhars, Sei Wungs and Wusuns were descended from them. The Kungs, Alans and their ancestors the Sarmatians and Messagetae were all of Scythian stock. From the second century B.C. the Huns began to enter these regions and their descendents the Awars, Jvan

Jvans and Turks gradually became masters of the entire territory, thus making it a Turkestan. But there were still remnants of Scythian tribes in the Terim valley. A number of inscriptions of this period have been discovered in the Tukla deserts and these reveal that the Tukhari, Prakrit and other Indian scripts were being used there. Buddhism was the predominant religion, though there are indications that Zorastrianism and Nestorian Christianity were also prevalent among the Sogdhian and other traders. In spite of religious differences the people lived in harmony as has been shown by Lekak and Aurel Stein. Followers of all the three religions laid down their lives together at the time of the Islamic invasion and when they were ultimately forced to flee from the Terim valley to Ladakh the Buddhists took the Nestorian priests with them.

That, however, came much later. For a considerable time this region was under the Turks. In 692 A.D. it fell under the domination of the Tibetans and Kashgar, Khoton, Aksu, in fact all the towns of the Terim valley, fell before them. During this period the victorious flag of Tibet flew over Kashgar and from Nepal to Kashmir and the predominance of Mongoloid culture and facial types in this area have their beginnings in this period.

Saptanada, once the land of the Scythians and their descendents came entirely under the sway of the Turks. By the seventh century A.D. there were hardly any Scythians left in the area. Swen Chang in his travel notes mentions only one language as having been spoken in Saptanada and the Chu valley, which goes to show that the Scythians had lost their separate identity. Though Buddhism and Nestorianism were prevalent there to some extent, the followers of Zoraster and particularly of Mani, were the most numerous. The Western Turkish Khans were also fire-worshippers. The Sogdhians continued to exist in large numbers, but the nomadic Turks were also not inconsiderable in strength and it is they who lent the entire region its Mongoloid character and gave birth to the Khirgiz, Kazak and other nationalities of modern times.

The Western part of Saptanada (Kazakstan), which was at one time inhabited by the Messagetae and the Sarmatians, was also gradually occupied by Turkish tribes and those akin to them. Thus by the seventh century the old Shakastan had become Turkestan, the land of the Turks.

CHAPTER 8

THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU

Akhmani (550 B.C. to 316 B.C.)

From the sixth century B.C. the Southern plateau of Central Asia (from the Hindu Kush mountains to the Sir Darya and from the Pamirs to the Caspian Sea) enters the Historical period. The first records of the history of this region are found in the stone inscriptions of Darius, which are contemporaneous with the lifetime of Buddha. It is of interest to recall that in India the first stone inscriptions are found in the third century B. C. in the stone stupas of Asoka. Like India, Central Asia was the cockpit of invading races, the only difference being that in India the succeeding layers of culture and civilisation settled one upon another and can be distinctly demarcated whereas in Central Asia there has been such an intermixture of culture that one can not be distinguished from the other.

In the very beginning of the metal age there was a mixture of the Aryan and Central Asian races in the Delta of the Sir and Amu Rivers, but the two cultures intermingled so intimately that it is difficult to discover what was the original culture of Central Asia. The Aryans dominated the area for two thousand years and during that time the Sogdhians, a branch of the Iranian Aryans, were the main force and later, when the Greeks and the Scythians came, they too were assimilated by them. In the fifth and sixth centuries came the Huns who began to change the racial stock of Central Asia with their Mongoloid blood which gradually increased as time went on. Two centuries later came the onslaught of Islam which, though it tried to wipe out the old culture, could not succeed in wresting political power from the Turks. Today a Mongoloid race with an Islamic culture inhabits this region. Prior to the coming of Soviet power the Uzbek, Khirgiz and Kazaks were hardly aware of their links with the pre-Islamic world but today these tribes of Turkish origin are proud of their long and glorious heritage because of the discovery of the existence of a developed pre-Islamic civilisation by the Soviet archaeologists.

At some time in the middle of the second millennium before Christ, two branches of the Aryan race entered the plains of India and Iran simultaneously. The branch that came into India found a developed civilisation in the Indus valley and, coming into contact with it, made rapid progress. At about

1200 B. C., the Aryans entered the Punjab and prospered in its fertile valleys. Casting aside the traditions of their tribal past these people gave up their democratic forms of administration and adopted a feudal monarchical system of society. During this period, in the reign of Divodas and Surdas, the Vedas were composed and by the seventh and eighth centuries B. C. Upanishad scholars had found their way to a concept of the all-pervading Bramah. This development in their religious concepts was but a reflection of the change in their social system from ancient tribal democracy to feudal monarchy.

Siddhartha or Gautam Buddha was in his boyhood when Kurav founded the first of the great empires of the world (550 B.C.). In the areas that are now Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and the Punjab, a form of tribal democracy continued to exist. It is difficult to say what form of administration prevailed in Central Asia, but, although the influence of monarchical forms was considerable, there might have been a sort of democracy such as prevailed amongst the early Aryans and Scythians.

The history of Central Asia for the next two centuries is dominated by the Akhmanis. Just as we called the northern plateau of Central Asia the Scythian land or Shakadvipa, the Southern part may be called the Aryan land or Aryadvipa. The first Aryan settlements in Awasta were known as Aryanambaija. Some historians consider this area to be the territory lying between the Amu and the Jaxartes Rivers, others consider that these settlements were in Pamir, while there are others who consider them to have been part of Khwarezm.

The Aryans who settled in Iran split up into a number of tribes. A branch of the Aryan race, the Medes or Madvas settled in the southern Caucasus and thus gave this region the name of Medea. These people had close contacts with Mesopotamia.

The Aryans in Iran realised that they would never become really strong as long as they did not unite and the strength born of their unity was revealed when in 788 B. C. the great city of Nineveh fell before them. By 708 B. C. Dewak, the King of the Medes, had not only united all the Medes into an independent Kingdom, but had founded the powerful Medean Empire which united all the Iranian Aryans. Akhvatan (Hamdan), the capital of the Medes, with its huge palaces and forts rivalled the great Nineveh. Dewak was succeeded by Pharwart. Although the empire continued to exist till 550 B. C. it did not make any appreciable progress. It was this region that was later ruled by the Akhmani dynasty.

Kurav (Cyrus : 550-529 B. C.)

Akhman was one of the chieftains of the tribes living in South Iran and that is why his tribe came to be called the Akhmanis. Cyrus, also known as Kurav, was one of his descendents who defeated the last of the Medean kings and became ruler of the entire Medean Empire. He himself had both Persian and Medean blood in his veins as his father was Persian and his mother a Medean. Although he was a Persian he did not look down on the Medes. In fact he accorded them a status almost equal to that of the Persians. Akhvatan continued to be the capital of the empire. By 546 B. C. he had conquered Lydia in Asia Minor and extended the boundaries of his kingdom to the shores of the Mediterranean. The annexation of Lydia strengthened his hands considerably, for that region was extremely prosperous. Kurav now turned his eyes towards Mesopotamia, the conquest of which was to be no easy task. He first assumed control of both the rivers Tigris and the Euphrates which controlled the trade of that region and ultimately, after a fierce battle, he won a complete victory in 538 B. C. Cyrus and Darius, both of whom were great conquerors, knew that the best way to win the sympathy of conquered peoples was to allow them to pursue their religious practices and to follow their own ways of life and culture. Kurav had been a worshipper of Ahurmazd, but after the conquest of Mesopotamia he became a devotee of the Mesopotamian God Murdak. In his inscriptions it is written "Murdak, the God of Gods, handed this kingdom over to me," and again "I, Cyrus, king of the world, am king of Assyria, Sumeria, Akkad...... when I entered the city of Nineveh......the great lord Murdak entrusted the inhabitants of the city to my care." Cyrus next advanced towards Egypt. On the east he extended his kingdom to the banks of the Indus and the Sogdhians fell under his sway, but the nomadic Scythians of the north, spreading from the Danube to the Hwang Ho, refused to yield to him. It was in fact in the war with them that he lost his life. He also fought against the Scythians of the Caucasus, but his main battle was fought against the Messagetae who lived in the region between the Aral and the Caspian seas. When the King of the Messagetae died in battle his Queen Tomuri continued the struggle and her son was taken captive by Cyrus and executed. This enraged the Queen and she resolved to take revenge. Feigning defeat she withdrew her forces and when the Iranian soldiers were off their guard she attacked them with all her strength. It was then that the Iranian army was routed and that Kurav was killed.

There is no doubt that the conquests of Cyrus had a lasting influence on Central Asia. The urban culture and civilisation that he brought had an impact which could not be wiped out even by the later Turkish and Arab conquests of this region.

Darius (521 to 485 B.C.)

Cyrus's son Kambuj, succeeded to the great empire. He crushed a revolt in Egypt and thus re-established his hold over it, but after his death his enemies grew in strength. The Medes resented the respect shown to any other gods than their own Ahurmazd. Gomata, who was one of the leaders of the Medes, occupied the throne for six months, but other Medean princes fought for its possession and at last Darius, a descendent of Akhman, the son of the Satrap of Hurkaniya, succeeded in killing Gomata and seizing Akhvatan, the capital. He refers to this in his famous inscriptions of Bahistun in the following words :

"Ahurmazd made me king. Our race had lost the throne. I regained it. I restored the places of worship destroyed by aliens. I restored the glories of my people......I resolved to follow the dictates of Ahurmazd in such a way that the damage done to the race by Gomata could be forgotten."

Darius had to contend against a number of other rivals in addition to Gomata. Phravartes, the ruler of Armenia and Medea proclaimed himself a full-fledged King, while the ruler of Margiya declared himself independent. Hurkaniya also seceded from the empire, but Vistan, the father of Darius, fought and conquered Hurkaniya. The following year Badshish, one of the Satraps of Darius, succeeded in defeating the ruler of Margiya and annexing it to the empire. Till 512 B. C. the boundaries of the empire were the Black Sea and the Shakland, on the north, the Indus on the east, the Mediterranean and the western boundary of Egypt on the west and Arabia and the Sahara on the south.

After extending his empire in Asia and Africa Darius turned his attention to Europe and in particular to Greece. It was probably the Greek political situation that forced him to adopt this course. There were a number of Greek colonies in Asia, and people forced to flee from Athens as a result of internal strife sought shelter in them. On the other hand, fugitives from Iran were made welcome in Greece. The Iranian satraps considered this as an affront to them. There is no doubt that it was these Satraps, rather than Darius himself, who were responsible for the war against Greece.

Darius was anxious to annex Thrace to his Empire, so he attacked it. In order to retain control of Thrace it was necessary to crush the Scythian tribes in the north. So in 508 B.C. he crossed the Danube and launched an attack against them. Unable to withstand the onslaught the Scythians fell to burning their fields and property as they went. This was the region that later came to be called Russia and there is little doubt that the scorched earth policy that was pursued later on by the Russians had been handed down from their Scythian ancestors. By 506 B.C. Thrace and Macedonia had become part of the empire of Darius.

In great sea battle fought in 494 B.C., Darius scored a victory over the Greeks and revolts in the Greek colonies in Asia were also crushed. But even after the conquest of Thrace and Macedonia the Greeks were not willing to accept Iranian domination and in 490 B.C., after a few minor engagements, the famous battle of Marathon was fought and the Iranians were defeated. Darius spent the last five years of his reign in consolidating his gains and on his death in 485 B.C. he was able to leave a well-organised and prosperous empire to his successor. This does not mean, of course, that all classes benefited equally under his rule. The condition of the slaves continued to be horrible, but in this period of history the cruelty to the slaves was a feature of all civilised states.

Administration

It is difficult to know exactly which of the reforms in this vast empire that spread from the Nile to the Indus were introduced by Cyrus and which by Darius. Prior to the existence of the Iranian empire there had been those of Assyrian and Egyptian and a vast administrative apparatus would have been necessary to govern such huge territories. But Darius was certainly the first to introduce a new form of centralised administration in his empire. The earlier practice had been to appoint hereditary rulers of the conquered races and tribes, with the result that whenever centralised control grew weak these rulers would declare themselves independent. Darius brought in a system by which satraps, who were generally related to the royal family, ruled at the Emperor's pleasure and to ensure against an excessive concentration of power in their hands, independent military commanders were appointed over the provinces by the Emperor himself. Besides this, there was an observer sent by the Emperor to look after the provinces and to keep an eye on the other two officers. Thus the appointment of three independent officers prevented the Satrap from assuming too much power and declaring himself independent. In addition, the Emperor, from time to time sent plenipotentiaries to the provinces to listen to complaints, and they also had power to remove the Satrap and other officers on the spot while the Satrap could be executed at the Emperor's orders. The Emperor did not interfere with the local religion, culture and customs of the people. Like Asoka, the Iranian Emperors were tolerant of all religions. In fact they went further, for even though they themselves were worshippers of Ahurmazd, they acknowledged Marduk, the God of the Assyrians, to be the God of Gods.

During the reign of Darius the empire was divided into twenty-three provinces, each administered by a Satrap as follows :

1. Parsha—South Iran. 2. Ubja—which contained Susa, the capital of the Empire. 3. Babiur—North Mesopotamia. 4. Athur. 5. Arabya—the part of Mesopotamia between the Jagros and Khabur. 6. Mudra or Egypt—the Nile valley. 7. Sagarjun—including the island of Sicily. 8. Yavuna—

which included the Uniun, Albion and Dorian races. 9. Sparda—Lydia and Asia minor. 10. Medea. 11. Armenia. 12. Katputuk—the central part of Asia minor. 13. Parthia and Hurkaniya. 14. Jaranjigia. 15. Harayev. 16. Ubrajmia (Khwarezm). 17. Bactria. 18. Sogdh. 19. Gandhar—Peshawar, Taxila. 20. Shak—Scythian land. 21. Saptagid. 22. Haravati (Greek Arkhosia). 23. Muk—Near Ormuzd.

Darius was the first emperor in the world to introduce a coinage bearing the emperor's image. Prior to this, pieces of metal with various signs had served as coins. The art of coinage was highly developed by the Greeks, as can be seen from the coins of Alexander and of those of the Greco-Bactrian kings, which were most artistically designed. The Scythians copied the Greek coins, while in India the Gupta and other dynasties followed the Scythians in this matter. But the Indian coins were inferior to those of the Greek. Coins of Darius which were made of gold and bore the armed image of the king, gave a great impetus to trade and commerce.

The administrative system of Darius was so excellent that it was later followed by Alexander and his descendants and was also recognised as the model for Western Asia. The Maurya Emperors adopted many of the points of an administrative system that they had acquired from the Greeks with whom they came into contact. In the Maurya period highways connected the main cities between Patna and Taxila and rest-houses under shady trees were built for the convenience of travellers. This system was first introduced by Darius. It was he who constructed highways to connect his capital with Macedonia, Central Asia and India, and also provided post-horses that always stood in readiness. Although the common people did not get the benefit of this postal service it enabled the capital to keep in touch with the different parts of the empire. Greek writers have alluded to the fact that the guest-houses in his empire had been set up at intervals of 25 kilometres.

Religion

The Iranians were worshippers of Ahurmazd. Some Zorastrian scholars are of the opinion that Zoraster was born in Azerbaijan in 660 B.C., a hundred years before Buddha ; others hold that Vistap, the father of Darius, had been the protector and follower of Zoraster. Thus in their opinion Zoraster was a contemporary of Buddha. The Iranian conception of religion, prior to Zoraster had much in common with that of the Rig Veda. The word 'Dev' has a common significance throughout the Indo-European world. In spite of differences, Yagna, Som and other rites are common to the Iranian and Vedic religions. Ahurmazd, as the deity personifying all that is good, and Angrmenyu standing for evil, were concepts very likely borrowed from the Jews, who had their Jehovah and their Satan. Like other prophets, Zoraster claimed that he had been chosen by God to guide the people. Some of the practices of the Zorastrian religion were derived from contemporary faiths, others were the outcome of ancient tradition. It is told that Zoraster failed to obtain converts in his birthplace, Azerbaijan ; but when he migrated to Khurasan, the Satrap like Vistap became one of his converts.

In this period the Emperor, the Satraps and other officers and priests were the only people who lived in comfort and luxury. The common people led an animal existence and slavery was universal.

Xerxes (485-466 B. C.)

For nineteen years after the death of Darius his son Xerxes, ruled over the Persian Empire. Darius had been defeated by the Greeks, so Xerxes prepared to make war against them, but before he could do so there was a revolt in Egypt. After crushing this revolt he launched the campaign against Greece in 481 B.C. with 1200 ships and 2,310,000 soldiers. Including auxiliaries from different parts of Europe, his strength increased to 5,000,000 soldiers. This was the largest army that have ever yet taken the field in any part of the world. The Greeks realised that this was to be a life and death struggle for them and the whole of Greece stood up as one man against Xerxes. Athens was evacuated and the women and children were sent to safety while the men went to the front. The armies of Xerxes crossed Thrace and Macedonia without opposition and a number of the states in north and Central Greece had to accept the enemy's domination. In Thermopylae the Greeks took their first stand. The Iranians being unable to cross the pass advanced by circumventing it and captured Athens. Despite this the Greeks did not lay down their arms, but continued the fight from the island of Salamis, where a naval engagement took place in the narrow straits. The huge Persian vessels could not manoeuvre in that restricted space while the light Greek triremes were to move freely and in the course of the day's fight the Iranians lost 200 ships. Xerxes now decided to return leaving his commander-in-chief, Mardonias, to carry on the battle. Mardonias scored some initial successes and hoisted the Persian flag over Athens once again, but the victory proved short-lived. On the fields of Palatiya the Greeks inflicted a decisive defeat on the Persian armies ; Mardonias was killed and his soldiers fled away in confusion.

Xerxes lived for another thirteen years after this defeat. He had become coarse and pleasure-loving and was ultimately killed by his own bodyguard.

After Xerxes, thirteen kings of the Akhman dynasty succeeded one another. They did their best to keep the vast empire intact. Although from the time of Xerxes onwards the Empire did not extend, there was no serious threat to it till the invasion of Alexander. During the reign of Arthkhatr II (405-359 B. C.)

there was a revolt in Egypt. The Greeks supported the revolt but could not render effective assistance owing to their own internal strife and the revolt was crushed. Arthkhatr III (359-333 B.C.) caused all the members of the royal family to be slain and the nomads of Khwarezm declared themselves independent as soon as the central authority of Iran had become weak. Darius III 333-330 B.C. was the last of the Akhmani rulers. He has been described as a liberal and brave ruler but the two-hundred-year-old dynasty had degenerated considerably by this time and the administration had begun to rot.

Macedonia remained part of the Iranian Empire till some time after 585 B.C., but after the defeat sustained by Xerxes at the hands of the Greeks the Iranians gradually lost control over it. When Arthkhatr III succeeded to the throne in 359 B.C., Philip, after a general massacre of his relatives, had become the ruler of Macedonia. An able general and a good administrator, he was highly ambitious. He adopted many of the administrative practices of the Iranians and Greeks and remodelled his army on their pattern. Although the Macedonians were Greeks their more developed brothers, the Athenians and Spartans, considered them barbarians. The twenty-three years of Philip's rule were a period of active preparation. If he had not died in 336 B.C., the great campaign against Persia which was led by his son Alexander, would probably have been conducted by him. Philips had given proof of such ability that even the proud Athenians began to call him Hero of the Hellenes. Aristotle, the great Athenian thinker, became the Tutor of his son Alexander.

In 336 B.C., Alexander, who was then twenty, became King of Macedonia. Even at that age he had proved his ability in two wars. He inherited from his father a cavalry trained in Iranian style and an infantry organised along Greek lines.

For two years after coming to the throne Alexander was engaged in crushing the revolts to his north and south, so that it was only in 334 B.C. that he was at last able to set out on his campaign of conquest. His object was the subjugation of the Iranian Empire which extended up to the Indus. Although he advanced as far as the Punjab, he was only able to bring the Iranian Empire under his sway. His achievements, therefore, did not go beyond those of Cyrus and Darius. It has to be remembered, however, that the resources of Alexander, when he set out on his march, were nothing compared to those of Darius.

Although Alexander succeeded in defeating the Iranians because of their internal conflicts, they fought bravely. Their mistake was that they did not resist his advance when he first landed in Asia. Alexander began his campaign with 30,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. The first encounter took place on the banks of the Gronikus, and in this battle the Iranian general was killed and his army fled in panic. This initial defeat so demoralised the

Iranian army that Alexander met no serious resistance in the whole of Asia Minor. Cowardly satraps surrendered without offering any resistance and as a consequence Alexander in his turn was faced with the problem of setting up an administration. He decided to appoint two officers to be in charge of the civil and military administrations respectively. He also established military cantonments wherever they were needed. The first year of his campaign was spent in conquering the provinces bordering the Mediterranean and in 333 B.C. after consolidating his rear, he again began his advance. Darius III opposed him with an army of six lakhs, but the battlefield was not suitable for the deployment of so large an army. A fierce engagement began but Darius left the field while the battle was still in progress. This broke the backbone of his army and it retreated in confusion. Alexander was hot in its pursuit and slew a hundred thousand Persian soldiers. This battle proved decisive for Alexander.

After subjugating Western Asia Alexander continued his march. At Arbela in Mesopotamia, Darius III faced him once again, with an army, a million strong. This time also Darius left the battle before its conclusion and Alexander pursued him for two days without being able to capture him. Since then Darius was never again to be in a position to offer serious resistance anywhere.

Alexander set up an efficient administrative system. In Susa he seized the Imperial treasury and in the fourth year of his campaign of conquest he entered the first capital, Parsupuri. Here he was able to lay his hands on so vast a hoard of treasure that ten thousand carts and five thousand camels were necessary to carry them. Drunk with success, Alexander ordered a general massacre of the population and that the huge palaces of the capital be set on fire. In a few moments this wonder city was reduced to ashes and its destruction showed, as nothing else could have done how barbarous a people the Macedonians really were.

Learning that Darius was preparing to make a stand in Hamdan, Alexander rushed to that place. Again Darius fled in panic and Alexander pursued him until he found the corpse of Darius near Damgan. Alexander paid his respects to the dead Emperor and buried him with due ceremony. He then married Roxana the daughter of Darius. They had a son, who could not enjoy the fruits of the victory, but Alexander's generals.

CHAPTER 9

SOME CIVILISATIONS OF KHWAREZM

It is necessary to turn our attention to Khwarezm before continuing the story of Alexander and his conquests. From 550-485 B.C. this area was peopled by the Messagetae. The River Jaxartes, and the Aral and Caspian seas provided natural boundaries for these territories, on the south of which lay the southern plateau of Central Asia. Natural as well as historical reasons have combined to isolate Khwarezm from the rest of Asia, so that it continued to maintain its separate existence with hardly any changes till the soviet Revolution of 1917. Today it is known as the Autonomous Republic of Uzbekistan.

The Keltminar Civilisation (4th to 3rd millennium B. C.)

The neolithic civilisation of Khwarezm is called by Soviet scholars the Keltminar civilisaton. Keltminar is one of the old rivers that flowed northwards from the Amu. The Ruins of 'Janbaskala' have been found on the north of this abandoned stream. Soviet archaeologists are of the opinon that the culture prevalent here in this period was part of that which spread from the Aral Sea and the Sir River to the Indian Ocean. The languages spoken belonged to the Munda Dravid family of tongues, while a dialect resembling the Uigur language of later days was also spoken here and there.

Tajabagyab Cultnre (about 2000 B. C.)

The culture that succeeded that of the Keltminar derived its name from another stream on the banks of which this civilisation sprang up—the Tajabagyab. This civilisation replaced that of the earlier Dravids of this region just as did that of the Aryans in India. Archaeological research has revealed that this culture had close links with the Copper Age civilisation of Andron which flourished in the region between Volga and the Altai Mountains in Siberia. The settlers of this period practised a crude form of cultivation, used weapons made of copper and were the first Indo-European tribe in Central Asia. At this time on the south of the Karokam desert the Anouki culture flourished. This was probably linked with the Mediterannean cultures just as the culture of the Tajabagyab was probably connected with that of the Hittites of Asia Minor and Thrace.

Tajamirabad Culture (about 1000 B.C.)

Remains of this civilisation have been found near the stream that bore this name in Janbaskala. Of the earlier cultures we cannot say definitely whether they were of Aryan or Scythian, but this was distinctly Scythian. Their descendants were later known as the Osseti and the Alans. The Ossetis still exist in one of the valleys of the Caucasus and have preserved their own language. The Tajamirabad culture also belonged to the Copper Age and was not very much in advance of that of Tajabagyab.

The Original Kungs (700-550 B.C.)

In this period a network of streams covered this region, and tribes scattered along their margins were not able to make much progress. Cyrus established his Empire in 550 B.C., but two decades later he had not even succeeded in conquering the Messagetae who inhabited this area and even a century later the Kungs had not reconciled themselves to Akhmani rule. In 700 B.C. a centralised administration had been established. At that time a number of towns which to day lie buried under the Kizilkum desert had sprung up. Recent Soviet excavations are in course of uncovering many of these towns and valuable discoveries are being made, but even to-day the study of this region can only be said to have been begun.

Kungs (Fifth to First Century Before Christ).

The military conquest of Khwarezm by Cyrus was a short-lived one but the cultural conquest had lasting effects. At first Khwarezm was under the cultural influence of Iran, but by the fourth century B.C. the Kungs of Khwarezm had shaken off the yoke of Iran and for a long time they ravaged Parthia, Hirat and Sogdhia. When Alexander began his campaign of conquest the Sogdhians and the Kungs continued to oppose him and Khwarezm was the centre of anti-Greek activity. This continued even after Alexander. It was with the help of these combined forces the Parthians, one of the Scythian tribes, were able to advance in the middle of the 3rd century B. C. By 160 B. C. the Kungs had become so strong that they were able to free Sogdhia from Bactrian control, but before long the retreating Yuchis surged into this region like a flood and covered the whole of Sogdhia and Bactria, and as a result, by 130 B. C. there was hardly a trace left of Greco-Bactrian rule. Throughout this period Khwarezm remained independent.

Kung-Kushan (First and Third Centuries A. D.)

In the first century A. D. the Kushans overcame their kinsmen the Yuchis and extended their kingdom as far as the Punjab and Eastern India in the east and the Aral Sea in the west. Khwarezm continued to make progress as can be seen from the towns and canals of this period. That the Kushans were most likely of Scythian origin may be inferred from the fact that even after they had conquered the Kungs they continued to treat them as equals. No wonder the Kungs who came to India are identified with the Kushan rulers of India. In appearance and dress all Scythians looked alike.

In the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. the Kungs regained their freedom but in the fifth century A.D. when the white Huns (Ephtalites) succeeded in replacing the Kushan Empire in Central Asia and India, they subjugated the Kungs also. The Kungs proved useful allies of the Ephtalite rulers and were well treated by them.

Janbaskala, Krulagankala, Kyunerlikala, etc., are all ruins of the culture that flourished from the fifth to the first centuries B. C. In the ruins of Kalligiri many images, coins and clay vessels have been found. The clay vessels have handles bearing the faces of lions. The ruins of Janbaskala reveal that the Kung civilisation considerably developed in the 4th century B. C. and the coins of the 3rd century B. C. seem to have been copied form those of Greece. The remains of the Kushan period are even richer. Kushan images and other objects have been found in India too, but the finds in Khwarezm contain the best specimens of Kushan art. These finds reveal that bronze weapons were in use by the Kungs up to this period.

Kushan Afrig (3rd to 5th Century A. D.)

The Kushan culture of this period is known as the Kushan Afrig culture. In a sense this can be called the most critical period in the history of Khwarezm. The streams started drying up and the desert began to swallow the towns. The sands of the Kizilkum desert have preserved these towns till this day and excavations have revealed not only images and coins, but inscriptions written on leather in Kung script. The excavations of the Afrig period—Tupsak-kala, Yekkepersan and Laghy Kawadkala, have revealed many articles of historical interest, which also indicate that the Khwarezm of this period was by no means culturally backward. In Yekkepersan the discovery of an ancient fire temple shows the existence of Zorastrian religion there.

Afrig Culture (3rd to 5th Century A. D.)

Remains of this culture have been found in Berkutkala and Teshik-kala. It was the culture of this period with which the Arabs came into contact when they entered this region. It is only in modern times that Islamic influences were able to penetrate into these parts. The famous scholar, Aburahan Albaruni, who lived in the tenth century A. D., was heir to the ancient culture of Khwarezm and had not forgotten the past heritage of this region even after its conquest by the Arabs and by the Ghaznavis. He had a profound respect for Indian culture because the Indian temples and towns brought memories of ancient Khwarezm back to him.

CHAPTER 10

GRECO-BACTRIANS

Although Alexander had broken the core of the Iranian resistance in the battle of Arbela it took him another three years to make a complete conquest of the Akhmani empire. Bessus was the Satrap of Bactria at this time and it was he who seized Darius III and attempted to hand him over to Alexander in order to win the latter's favour. But Darius refused to mount the horse that was brought for him, whereupon Bessus stabbed him in the heart and left his body for Alexander to find. Bessus returned to Bactria and had himself proclaimed king under the style of Arthkhatr IV. He ruled for the four years 333 to 329 B. C. Alexander continued his campaign of conquest and captured the places now known as Khurasan, Sistan, Baluchistan, Kandahar and Kabul while in 329 B. C. he seized Andrap, Gori and Bakhtor. Disgusted with the treachery of Bessus, the Bactrians deserted him and he fled across the Amu River destroying the bridge of boats behind him as he went. Not deterred by this, however, the pursuing Greeks used inflated skins to help them across the stream. Bessus proved to be a coward and Spitama the Sogdhian leader, who was his chief lieutenant, handed him over to Alexander. The latter sent him in his turn to the Iranians who promptly executed him.

Alexander's armies continued to advance along the right bank of the Amu River. Meanwhile the Sogdhians rebelled against him and Alexander retaliated by burning and pillaging their towns and villages. The Greek armies then reached the Jaxartes, taking Samarkand on the way. The Sogdhians realised that to yield to him would plunge them into perpetual slavery, they, therefore, attacked the Greek cantonments of that area, but Alexander suppressed the revolt with great cruelty. The Scythians on the other side of the Jaxartes were preparing to meet the Greek attack while Siptama attacked the Greek camp in Samarkand. Alexander sent a large army to the relief of Samarkand and himself marched towards the Jaxartes. Within seventeen days he had built the city of Alexandria on its banks, thus fulfilling one of his fondest wishes. Although worn out by fatigue and illness Alexander was indomitable. He wanted to cross the river and attack the Scythians but his army refused. After Alexandria had been set up, however, the army crossed and defeated the Scythians, Kungs and Wusuns who inhabited the region.

Learning that the army sent to relieve Samarkand had been intercepted and destroyed by Siptama, Alexander himself marched towards Samarkand. Siptama fled to Bactria. Alexander took revenge by ravaging the entire Sogdhian territory and then set out in pursuit of Siptama. On his way he spent the winter in Jariupsa and Siptama who was given shelter by the Kungs of Khwarezm could not easily be beaten. Receiving reinforcements from Greece, Alexander began a fresh campaign in the spring of 328 B. C. and conquered Merv, but he had to face stubborn resistance from the Central Asian tribes and it took him the next two years to capture the fortress of Petra Oxiyana. According to one account, Alexander's wife Roxana was the daughter of a Sogdhian noble and it was during this campaign that he married her. After the conquest of Merv he built two contonments for his troops and set up four other camps in Bactria. These were probably in Memna, Andkui, Shabuyan and Suripal. After this he returned to Samarkand, where Siptama was still holding out. As Alexander retaliated by pillaging the neighbouring areas the local tribes seized and beheaded Siptama and sent his head to Alexander. With the exception of Khwarezm, Alexander had thus conquered the whole of western Central Asia. He now turned his attention towards India. After capturing Kandahar he reached the banks of the Beas and was approaching the Nanda empire when his army refused to advance further. In 326 B. C. he was, therefore, obliged to turn back. He sent a part of his army by sea to Mesopotamia and he himself marched overland with the rest of it, reaching Opis near Baghdad in 324 B. C. In 323 B. C., he started again on a campaign of conquest, but when he reached Mesopotamia he fell ill and died of that illness at the age of thirty three.

The Greek Governor of Sogdhia and Bactria in this period was Amintas. When news of the death of Alexander reached Bactria the Greek army revolted, but the rising was quickly suppressed, and Amintas was replaced by Philip who was later on succeeded by Stapnor as Governor of Bactria.

Selukas (312-281 B. C.)

After the death of Alexander there was bitter rivalry amongst his generals for powers which lasted for more than forty years. Alexander made his commander Selukas, Governor of Syria, Mesopotamia and the Eastern countries and he continued to rule these territories after Alexander's death. Alexander's brother Alexander II was placed on the throne of Macedon, but from 323 to 312 B. C. the struggle for power between the generals reduced his rule to a farce. After 312 B. C., Selukas declared himself completely independent as had the other generals and with the help of Antigone he annexed Susiyana to his territory. Owing to the treachery of Antigone Selukas was forced to flee to Egypt for a time but later succeeded in regaining control of Mesopotamia. This victory was marked as the starting point of a new era, whereupon he assumed the title of King and conquered Bactria and Sogdhia. After Alexander's death, Kabul and the Punjab became independent, and although Selukas attempted to reconquer them he was defeated by Chandragupta Maurya. Selukas had to surrender all his territories between the Indus and the Hindu Kush mountains and in 280 B. C. he was assassinated by one of his officers. He was succeeded by his sons Antioch I and II.

During the reign of Antioch II the Governor of Bactria attempted to become independent. But the coins issued by him do not establish clearly whether he assumed the title of king or not.

Divodat I (245-230 B. C.)

He is considered to be the founder of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom, but it is doubtful if he declared himself independent of Selukas II. Divodat was not only a governor under Selukas, but was also the son-in-law of Antioch II and after the death of the latter his son Selukas II became king and his daughter married Divodat II.

While this new Greco-Bactrian dynasty was establishing itself, a branch of the Scythians, the Dehai, was setting up a kingdom of its own with the help of the Kungs. The Dehai lived on the banks of the Jaxartes but as time went on they occupied Parthia as well and came to be known as the Parthians. It was Mithrdat one of the rulers of this dynasty, who put an end to the dynasty of Selukas. The Parthians ruled over Iran for almost 400 years. The founder of this dynasty, Arsnak I (249-47 B. C.), was a contemporary of Divodat I. The Parthians extended their kingdom to include Iran and Mesopotamia and eventually became a threat to the Roman and Scythian Empires.

Divodat II (230-225 B. C.), the son of the first ruler of that name had gone as his father's representative to the court of Selukas II, but he was unable to retain control over his father's dominions for long. Selukas II had given his other daughters in marriage to the rulers of Tont and Kapadakiya in expectation of obtaining their help in protecting his western frontiers. Meanwhile those who had inherited various parts of the Greek empire continued to fight amongst themselves. Talmi II, king of Egypt, seized Selukia, the capital, in 246 B. C. and Selukas II had to flee for his life. Divodat I did not give any aid to the Dehai of the north, but when Divodat II joined hands with Tridot, who had attacked the empire of Selukas, the widow of Selukas II gave her daughter in marriage to Aethudim, the powerful Satrap, and sought his help.

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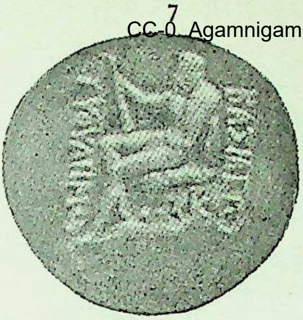

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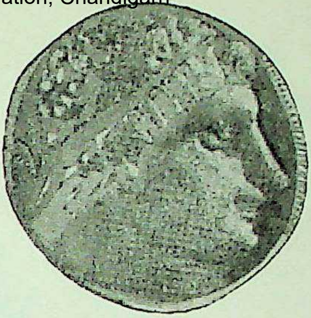

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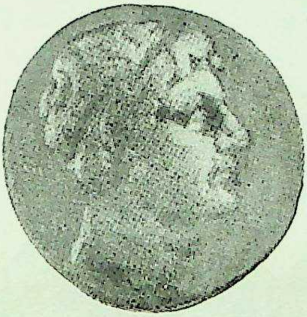

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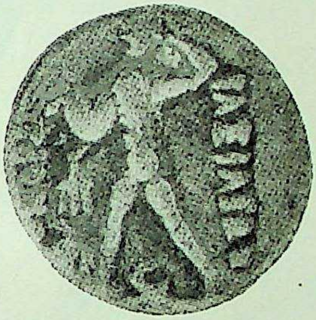

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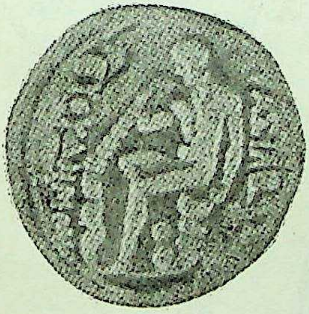

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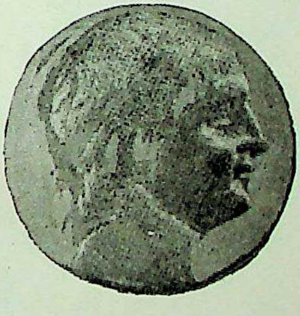

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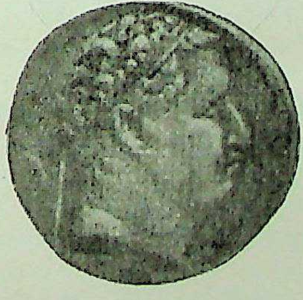

1-3. Basileus Antioch II (262-247 B. C.) (Page 89)

4-5. Basileus Aethudim I (225-189 B. C.) (Page 89)

2. Divodat I (245-230 B. C.) (Page 88)

6-7. Basileus Aethudim (Page 88)

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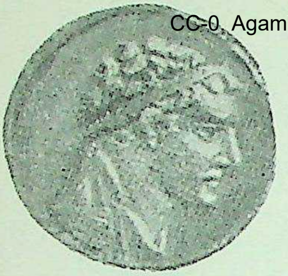

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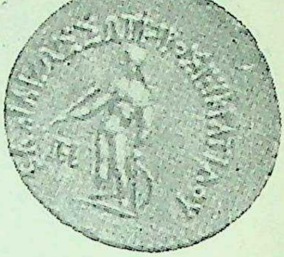

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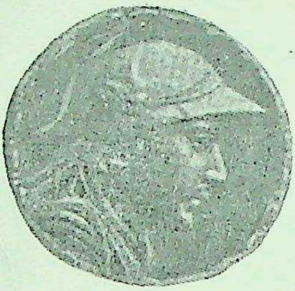

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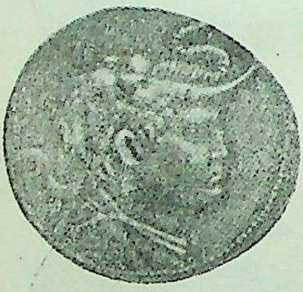

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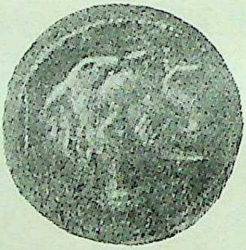

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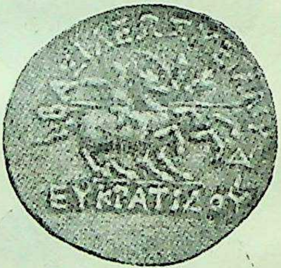

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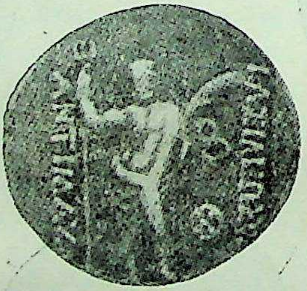

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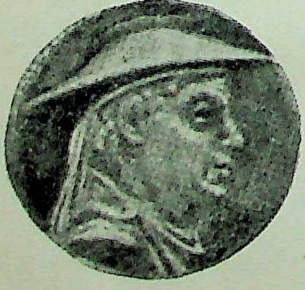

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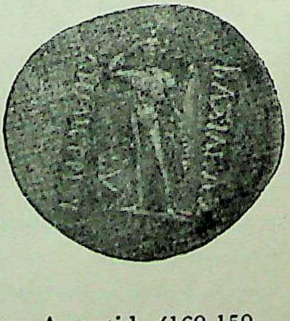

1-2. Basileus Meglos Aecrotid (169-159 B. C.) (Page 93)
5-6-7. Basileus Dimitrios (189-167 B. C.) (Page 90)
3-4. Basileus Aecrotid (169-159 B. C.) (Page 92)
8-9. Basileus Antimakhu (150 B. C.) (Page 90)

Aethudim succeeded in killing Divodat II. Antioch II had by this time succeeded to the Greek throne.

During the rule of Aethudim and of his son Dimitri, the Greco-Bactrian dynasty rose to the highest pinnacle of its glory. His kingdom embraced Bactria, Sogdhia, Murgiyana, Fargana, Arkhosiya and Propisdai, which are known in modern times as Tazikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Khirgizistan and Kazakstan. It also included territories that now form part of India and Pakistan. The help of Aethudim was essential for the protection of the Selukan Empire from the nomadic Dehai of the north, but Antioch III was well aware of the ambitious nature of Aethudim and in 208 B. C. he attacked him. Aethudim was defeated and took shelter in the end in Bactria, his fortified capital city. For two long years Antioch beseiged the city, but when Aethudim threatened to seek the help of the nomad Kungs, he came to terms with him. Aethudim sent elephants as presents and Antioch in return offered to marry his daughter to Aethudim's son Demitri. Aethudim's expansion was barred on his west by Antioch III but in the north he extended his kingdom as far as Sogdhia and Fargana. (Fargana was the birthplace of Babar and it was so prosperous in the 15th century that even after he became Emperor of India Babar could not forget it.) Fargana was famous for its fruits and jewels, and because the trade route to China lay through this country.

Bactria was not the desert then as it is today. Indeed it was called Politimelis because of its fertility. On account of its many canals and cities it was also known as 'the land of the thousand cities.' The rubies of of Badkhasan and the emeralds of Khurasan were to be found in this kingdom, while Badkhasan was rich in copper and iron.

The silk route leading westwards from China lay through Bactria. One of its paths crossed the Pamirs and led to Fargana, another followed the Alai valley to Bactria. The road that led to the Terim valley was controlled by the ruler of Fargana and Bactria, while the other was controlled by the Wusuns who were masters of the Issikul lake.

Even in the reign of Aetrodim the Huns and the Muchis lived in the regions adjoining China and trading with the Chinese was the main source of their revenue. There was also considerable trade between Bactria and India through Afghanistan. A Chinese emissary who visited the area found in it many articles of Indian origin, as also goods from China that came via India.

The expansion of trade and commerce prompted Aetrodim to search for gold. To the north-west of his kingdom lay stretched the Wusun territories, which included the golden mountains of Altai. This region is rich in gold mines even today. Further north lay the world-famous Lena gold-fields of Siberia. It was from the mines of Lena and Altai that gold found its way to Central Asia, India and Iran. But since the time of Darius I the traffic in gold had ceased. Aetrodim hoped to resume it, thus enhancing the importance of Bactria, which was already the centre of the silk route. In the second millennium before Christ the forefathers of the Scythians had worked in the gold-mines of Altai and Kazakstan, but their descendents, the Wusuns, were now prevented from doing so by the Huns. Aetrodim made an attempt to establish his control over these areas in the north with a view to reopening the gold traffic. From Fargana he marched across the Tyenshan mountains, but did not succeed in his venture.

The goldmines of the Upper Yenesei and elsewhere were under the control of the Huns, not the Wusuns, and as the conquest of these nomads proved too difficult, Aetrodim was obliged to return disappointed. This explains why, Bactrian coins were made of silver rather than gold although the art of minting coins had reached a high degree of perfection during the reign of Aetrodim. On his return from the north, Aetrodim defeated the Parthians and seized a part of their territory, and thereafter he made his son Antimakhu governor of Murgiyana and the lower Aryu Valley, with Merv as its capital.

Antimakhu governed both on behalf of his father and of his brother Dimitri. In Seleukia the heir-apparent was generally made the viceroy. This practice was also prevalent with the Greco-Bactrians, but among the Huns and other nomadic tribes, provincial governors were often given the title of viceroy. The Parthians followed this custom and it was very likely that Aetrodim adopted their system. The governors minted their own currency and were so powerful that their subjects were often not aware that they were not their kings. Not only among the Greco-Bactrians, but among the Muchis, Kushans, white Huns and Turks also such mistaken notions obtained with regard to their governors and it is because of this that it had not been found possible to determine whether the white Hun ruler Torman was merely a viceroy or the actual king. Antimakhu had the word "Thev" stamped on his coins and Thev or Dev was the term used for kings. The Parthian King Arthani (214-181 B.C.) also called himself Thevputur (i.e. Devputr - son of God).

The nomads of the north grew strong again in this period and according to Chang Kyan, who visited the area in 128 B.C., the people of Bactria and Sogdhia in order to protect themselves from their incursions not only fortified their towns, but even their villages.

Dimitri (189-167 B.C.)

He was the eldest son of Aetrodim. Besides Antimakhu he had another younger brother, Apollodot. Dimitri tried to follow up the work of his father and his conquests in India are very important. It is to the invasion of Dimitri that the great philosopher and scholar Patanjali refers in his Grammar when he uses the expression ; "The Greeks surrounded Ayodhya".

The Greek kings of Bactria were in close contact with India. When Selukas I gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta he established a relationship that was followed by his descendents. Selukas's ambassador Megasthenes spent some years in Pataliputr, the capital of the Maurya Empire, and his writings have furnished valuable data for our historians. Antioch III, the fifth descendent of Selukas, met the Maurya king Subhag Sen. These visits strengthened the tradtional ties of friendship between the two countries.

The Conquest of India : 173-167 B.C.

Sind and Gandhar, which had formed parts of the conquests of Cyrus and Darius, appear to have made themselves free from the control of the Akhman kings during the period of Arthkhatr II (404-358 B.C.). Independent republics continued to exist till the invasion of Alexander, but Pushyamitr, the commander-in-chief of the Maurya army, killed the last of the Maurya kings and gained control of the entire kingdom. Dimitri took full advantage of the discontent that became prevalent against Pushyamitr and crossed the Hindukush mountains in 183-182 B.C. Entrusting his Bactrian Empire to his elder son Aetrodim II and to his brother Antimakhu, Dimitri started on his campaign of conquest in india with his younger brother Apollodot and his commander Menander. Kapisha had already become part of the kingdom during his father's reign, which was subsequently handed over to Dimitris son—Dimitri II. The ruins of this city are still to be seen west of Kabul. The elephant tusks and trunk found on the coins of Dimitri symbolise this area. Dimitri then proceeded to conquer the province of Gandhar (Taxila and Peshawar). Meanwhile the Kalinga king had advanced up to Pataliputr and Pushyamitr had to flee to Mathura. In the south the Satvahans were contending against him while the western regions had never been fully subdued. Dimitri followed the same route to India that had been taken by Alexander because the Khyber pass had not yet been opened to traffic. Pushkalawati on the western bank of the Indus (modern Charsudda) had become a Greek capital. At that time Kashmir and Gandhar were mainly under Buddhist influence. Taxila had developed commercially and culturally under the Maurya rulers. But Dimitri established a new city in Taxila which was henceforth known as Sirkop. Dimitri was the first to use Prakrit and Khorosthi scripts on his coins in addition to Greek. The whole of modern Sindh was conquered by Dimitri and he built a city there, which has been referred to by Sanskrit writers as "Duttamitri". Another city on the banks of the Vakhsu, now kown as Termiz, was probably also founded by Dimitri. The Greek army under the command of Menander captured Sialkot ; then crossing the Beas and the Sutlej reached Mathura. Panchal and Saket were beseiged and finally the capital Pataliputr, was attacked. Advancing in another direction, Apollodot seized the Indus delta, conquered Saurashtra and after establishing his capital in Bharukaksh surrounded the city of Madhyamika near Chittor with armed forces. It is possible that he succeeded in taking Ujjain also. Alexander considered India to consist only of the Indus valley, but Dimitri's kingdom spread from the Sir Darya to Saurashtra and from the Iranian deserts to Pataliputr. Kashmir, Punjab, U.P., Bihar, Malwa, Rajasthan, North Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch and Sind—all were parts of his empire.

Dimitri came not merely to loot and plunder, but to settle permanently in the country. He made Taxila his capital and governors were appointed to rule over the provinces. One of his sons who became Governor of Kapisha, minted coins modelled after the ancient square coins of India. These are inscribed exclusively in the Indian Brahmi and Pali scripts and bear on the one side the image of a mountain and on the other a tree ringed with stones—symbol of Buddhism. The word "Dikios" (religious), is also inscribed on them and it must be kept in mind that the people of Kapisha were at this time mainly Buddhists. One of Dimitri's sons was made govenor of Baluchistan ; Apollodot ruled over Gandhar and Gujerat, and the region east of the Jhelum was ruled by Menander. The conquests of Dimitri have been described in the Sanskrit text "Gargasamhita."

Among the coins minted by the Greek kings, those of Dimitri's father are considered the most artistic. The same artist designed the silver coins issued by Dimitri and these bear on one side the crowned head of Dimitri, with the crown surmounted by the tusks and trunk of an elephant, while on the other there is an image of Shiva holding a stick and lion skin in his right hand, his left being held close to his ear. On the right side is inscribed "Basileus" and on the left "Dimitrios". Copper coins bear on the one side the head of an elephant, symbol of India and on the other the words "Basileus Dimitrios". Although the Greek empire stretched over Egypt, Iran and Babylon as well as other countries, it is significant that nowhere else except in India was the local script used on Greek coins.

Even though he had succeeded in consolidating his hold over India and had extended his kingdom as far as Ujjain and Pataliputr, he was suddenly obliged to return to Bactria because it was attacked by the Selukan general Aecrotid for the struggle between the Selukans and the Bactrians had not ceased. The Selukan King Antioch IV considered Bactria to be a satrapy of the empire, while the Bactrians considered themselves independent. At this time there had come into being in Europe the powerful Roman empire. Antioch IV had spent some of his early life in Rome and was well aware of the might of the Romans. His generals had conquered Egypt and he had even had himself crowned in Memphis, but at the first sign of Rome's displeasure he withdrew from Egypt. Antioch did not disturb Mithrdat I

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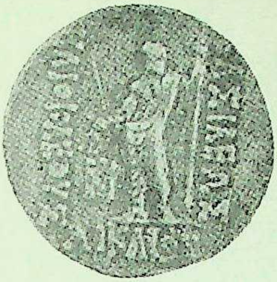

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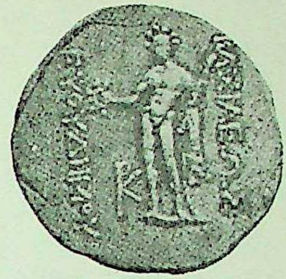

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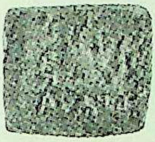

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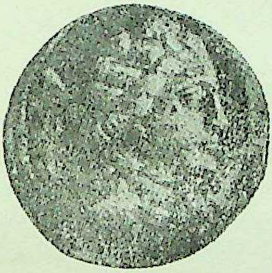

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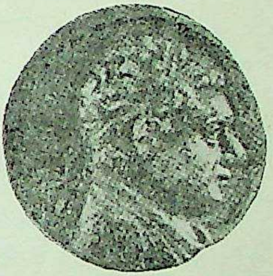

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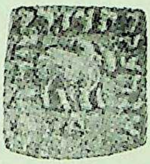

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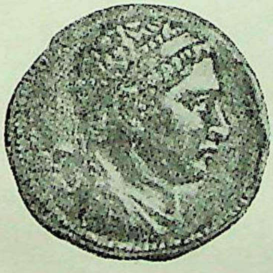

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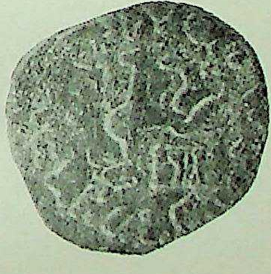

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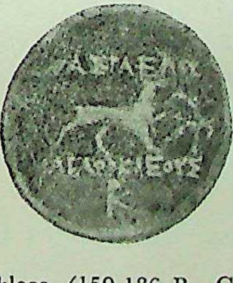


1-2. Basileus Dikios Aelikleos (159-136 B. C.) (Page 94); 3-4. Basileus Aethudim (183-174 B. C.) (Page 89); 5-6. Basileus Agthakoleos (50-0 B. C.) (Page 93); 7. Basileus Dikios Aelikleos Maharajas Dhramikas Helia-creyas (159-136 B. C.) (Page 94); 8. Apollodot Sutiros Maharajas Apollodotus (2nd Century B. C.) (Page 92); 9. Basileus Meglos Ajes (1st Century B. C.) Maharajas Rajadhirajas Mahatas ayas (Page 95).

(170-168 B. C.) to his north, but contented himself with trying to win back the eastern parts of Iran (Sistan and Baluchistan) from Dimitri, who was then very busy in India.

Entrusting the task of winning Dimitri's kingdom to his cousin Aecrotid, Antioch set out to conquer the West. Although only partially victorious, by 167 B.C. he had succeeded in taking the western provinces of the Hindu Kush,—Sistan, Baluchistan, Hirat, Bactria, while Sogdhia had come under the sway of Aecrotid. Dimitri naturally had to rush his armies from India in order to save his kingdom. At one place he succeeded in surrounding Aecrotid's army, but the latter managed to escape. It was in one of the battles fought near the Hindu Kush mountains that Dimitri was killed. Like Alexander, Dimitri wanted to remove all distinctions in his army and administration, between Greeks and non-Greeks. This was one of the reasons why the Greeks were not very happy under Dimitri. The Selukan kings on the other hand always favoured the Greeks.

By 166 B. C. no rival was left to face Aecrotid. Antioch IV was powerless against him and as a result Aecrotid proclaimed himself not only Basileus, but Basileus the Great. He built a city in Bactria which was named after him. The coins minted in his reign have on the one side an image of Aecrotid with a hat on his head and on the other two horsemen carrying long spears on galloping steeds, while above there is a semi-circular inscription, 'Basileus Meglos' and below is 'Aecrotid'. Another type of coin bears the bare-headed image of Aecrotid wearing a circlet of ribbon, while on the other is an image of the Greek god Apollo and the inscription 'Basileus Sutiros Aecrotidos'.

Aecrotid spent the year 166 B. C., in Bactria and in the following year he started a campaign against India. Meanwhile, pressed by the Huns, the Yuchis had left their homelands in Kansu and moved with their familes, cattle and tents towards Fargana. After crossing the Hindu Kush mountains Aecrotid had first of all to face Agthakol, son of Dimitri, who was killed in the battle. On his way Kapisha fell and became part of his empire. By that time Antioch IV died in the course of his Western campaign leaving Aecrotid sole ruler of the whole empire. It seems likely that he succeeded in conquering Gandhar where he killed Apollodot in battle which means that he was able to advance right up to the Jhelum without meeting any opposition, but Menander stopped his further advance beyond the Jhelum. In 160 B. C. news reached Aecrotid that the Parthians had attacked his kingdom and like Dimitri, he had to rush home.

After the death of Antioch IV his elder brother Dimitri II, who had been kept as a hostage in Rome, escaped and reached Bactria. But in the meantime the son of Antioch IV had occupied the throne. Dimitri II, however, removed him and seized the throne for himself. Aecrotid refused to accept his overlordship and so began the break-up of the Selukan Empire. Timarkhus, a satrap of Medea, proclaimed himself Basileus Meglos in 162 B. C., but the Parthian king Mithrdat defeated him and annexed the whole of Medea to his kingdom. He also seized the part of Aecrotid's kingdom that lay west of the river Hirat and Aecrotid died fighting against Mithrdat and his ally Dimitri II. In this way Dimitri II avenged his father's death but was unable to enjoy the fruits of his victory for long. It was the star of the Parthians that was now in the ascendant.

When Aecrotid's son Heliokal came to the throne of Bactria, the Yuchis had already occupied the upper part of Sogdhia and only the lower part was in Heliokal's hands. Mithrdat had seized Sistan, Arkhosiya and Gedrosiya, while the Governor of Sistan was Frat. The Parthians, who were of Scythian origin, had settled Scythian nomads on the lower recess of the Helmund river and that is why this region was known from 115 B. C. as Sistan (i. e. Shakistan) and it was this place that served them as a centre from which to enter India. The Scythians soon declared themselves independent of Parthian rule, but Mithrdat sent his commander Soren to re-establish Parthian suzeranity—a task that he successfuly carried out.

Heliokal, (159-130 B.C.) the last Greek king, was as ambitious as his father had been, and like his father wanted to set out on a campaign of conquest. His father had been stopped by Menander and when Menander died Heliakal attacked Gandhar. Defeating Strat, the son of Menander, he conquered the entire region up to the Jhelum. Only the area between Sialkot and Mathura was left to Strat. Heliokal had placed his brother Aecrotid II on the throne during his absence and the latter also issued coins with the inscription Basileus Sutiros Aecrotidos. While Heliokal was busy in India, Mithrdat I succeeded in extending his empire from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. In 142 B. C. Dimitri, allying himself with Aecrotid, attacked Mithrdat, but was only partially successful. Mithrdat was anxious not to have to fight on both fronts at the same time, he therefore allowed Dimitri's general to take Babylon and on his return from India turned his attention to Heliokal. In December 141 B. C. he defeated Heliokal in Harkaniya, and then advanced towards Babylon. By 139 B. C. Dimitri was a captive in his hands, and thus over the whole of India and Mesopotamia the Parthian dynasty had replaced that of Selukan.

The Yuchi coins were copies of Aecrotid's which proved that it was they who had taken Bactria from him. The coins of Heliokal bear on the one side the inscription "Basileus Dikios Aelikleos" and on the other the image of an elephant and the inscription "Maharajas Dhramikas Helia-Creyas".

Antiyalkid : It is difficult to say in what way he was related to Heliokal.

It is possible that he was the ruler of Kapisha, Gandhar and a part of Bactria. His coins bear the words "Basileus Nikitoras Antiyalkidas". The veil of darkness that settled over the history of Bactria after 142 B. C. did not lift until 128 B. C. when the Chinese traveller Chang Kyan passed through this region and found it being ruled by the Yuchis.

Greco-Bactrian Kings in India

Menander and his descendants were the last of the Greco-Bactrian rulers of India. The book of questions and answers entitled "Milind Prashn" written by the priest Nag Sen refers to Menander and it is from this book that we learn that Menander's capital was Sialkot and that he was born in Alexandria. However, as there were many cities of that name it is difficult to say exactly where he was born. It is also difficult to establish whether he was of noble birth or whether he rose to his high position by virtue of his ability as a soldier. It is known, however, that he married the daughter of Dimitri. At first he ruled only the part of the Greek Empire that lay east of the Jhelum, but after the return of Aecrotid to Bactria he extended his territories as far as Gandhar, Sindh and Gujarat. Sialkot was his capital, he had stationed satraps in Gujarat and Bharauch, and had assumed the titles "Sutiros" and "Dikios".

After the death of Menander in 145 B.C., his son Strat I became the ruler. Heliokal snatched Gandhar away from his kingdom but Strat I continued to rule over the area between Sialkot and Mathura.

He was succeded by his son Strat II and coins bearing the latter's image present a picture of a middle-aged and bearded person. Later coins reveal that the kings Apollodot, Philapator, Diyonisilous, Joilus, Soter and Liksenus ruled one after another, but nothing is known about them. It appears that these Greek kings had become naturalised as Indians and they seem also to have mixed with the Scythians. The Scythian king Ajes put his imprint on the coins of Apollodot II which shows that the latter was living in 30 B. C. Many Scythians fled to India after the Mithrdat's commander, Soren had attacked them and they occupied Saurashtra, Cutch and Sindh between 110 and 80 B. C.

Greco-Bactrian Administration

The structure of the Greco-Bactrian administration closely followed that set up by Alexander, who in his turn had based his on the Iranian model of Darius I. Darius I had established in his provinces, beside the army commander and the Satrap a third post, that of royal representative or viceroy, but this post was abolished by Alexander. The ruler of the province was now known as 'Strategos'. Darius's provinces had been very large. In an empire many times greater than that of the Selukans, he had thirty three provinces while the Selukan kings divided their kingdom into seventytwo. The provinces were again divided into districts and sub-divisions known as Aparachis and Hiparachis respectively. The Bactrians converted the districts or Aparachis into provinces ruled by the Satraps. In addition there were the towns, which followed the pattern of the Greek Polis. Alexander had set up about seventy townships. The Selukan townships were military cantonments. The Greek city was administered by a council and an assembly. Selukia, situated on the banks of the Tigris, had a council of 300 which met every month and a larger assembly which held annual sessions. Not only was the assembly required to administer the town, but also to attend to the physical and cultural needs of the citizens. To this end, playgrounds, gymnasiums and theatres had been established. The official language was Greek. The magistrate of the city was called Epsital and was elected by the council. The town also had an elected treasurer. Elections were generally held once every three years. Bactria and Gandhar were counted among the main Greek cities. The Selukans discriminated between Greeks and non-Greeks, hence relations between them were bitter just as in the case of those Indian cantonments where the local people were not on good terms with the British soilders. This did not mean, however, that the two nationalities did not intermarry. Rulers like Dimitri I felt that this discrimination was not fair so that in his reign there was some improvement. He appointed natives to high positions and there were no restrictions on Parthians and Selukans becoming Satraps. The Mauryas too made foreigners Governors of provinces, as was the case in Gujarat. Books written in the first and second centuries A. D. mention how the Greeks dwelt in the Indian cities of Dashpur. The position was similar in the case of Bactria and Sogdhia. It is possible of course that in other parts of Central Asia the Greeks were not so easily absorbed into the local population as they were in India. We have seen how Apollodot's coins bore nothing but Indian inscriptions and some of the Indian Greek kings stamped their money with the images of Indian gods. Menander openly embraced Buddhism. It was difficult to maintain any racial distinctions in India, because after the time of Alexander the Greek cantonments ceased to exist and when Dimitri I came he too pursued a policy of eliminating differences.

The Greco-Bactrian Religion

From the coins issued by their rulers it is clear that the gods of their cities were taken from the Greek pantheon. Thus Hercules, who was highly respected for his courage and strength, was one of their chief deities, while the image of Zeus, the father of the gods is found on the coins issued by Divodat II and Heliokal, Apollo on Aecrotid's coins and clay figures of the latter have also been discovered. Athena, the goddess of wisdom and of Athens, whose other name was Pallada, is found on some of the coins, especially those issued by Dimitri, Apollodot and Menander. Nika, goddess of victory, is found on the coins of Antimakhu, Aecrotid, Menander and others. Divonis was a deity specially honoured in Bactria, Kapisha and Fargana. According to the traveller Megasthenes, Indians living in the hills worshipped Dionysius, while those on the plains turned to Hercules, but it is quite likely that he was confusing these deities with Shiv and Vasudev.

The Iranian goddess Anahita was given a place in the Greek religion. Just as the original deity of Sogdhia was Daity and of the Sir Darya, Tenis, so Anahita was that of the Vakhshu. There are those who consider Anahita to have been a Babylonian deity taken over by the Iranians, while the Roman historian Clement Alexandria reveals that the Bactrian towns of that time worshipped Aphrodite.

Worship of the Sun God called Mitr exercised a powerful influence over the Greeks and at one time it was so dominant that in the early centuries after Christ there was a possibility that Greece and Rome might have adopted this religion instead of Christianity. Mitr was probably an Aryan god. The Iranian Aryans also worshipped the sun god, calling him Mitr. Although Zoroaster reformed the Iranian religion and gave the first place to Ahurmazd, he was not able to dethrone Mitr. Even the Indian Aryans worshipped Mitr, the sun god. In the earlier stages both Indians and Iranians worshipped the sun directly, but later on they began to make images of it. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., Mitr and Anahita were the most powerful deities of Bactria and their images occur frequently on the coins of the period. The Scythians also worshipped (Mitr) Mihir in the early days. For some time after coming into India they pursued their own customs, but these soon got mingled to such an extent with those of the local people that it became diffiicult to make a distinction between them. But they too left their imprint by giving the sun god to Indian religion and he (the sun), like that of the Scythians, was clad in boots reaching to the knees.

The Indian goddess Dhisna was to be found among the deities worshipped by the Greek Bactrian kings, but although a Vedic Goddess she was not so well-known in India. An image of the two-armed goddess, half-clad and with a prince on either side of her, has been found engraved on a metal cup. The image of Buddha is found in Gandhar, the meeting-place of the Indian Greek culture. Images of Buddha were not made till the 2nd century B.C. and that is why Greek coins bear the stupas or the tree as the symbol of Buddha. Like the Scythians, the Greeks were very liberal in religious matters. They worshipped the Iranian Ahurmazd on the one hand and the Hindu god Inder on the other, and were willing to beg favours from Zeus, Buddha, Anahita, Pallas, Vritregn, or Hercules, without any distinction.

Greek-Bactrian Art and Crafts

Greek-Bactrian art had a high place in Asia. Greek art was respected even in the Selukan cities, but it remained barren there. Reaching Bactria however it exercised a profound influence on the art of India, Afghanistan and Central Asia. After coming into contact with India it came to be known as the Gandhar culture. The culture that was expressed in the coins of Aecrotid had no parallel elsewhere. Then came the Kushan culture of Mathura which was succeeded by that of the Gupta. The culture of Mathura developed during the period when it was the capital of the Greek and Scythian satraps.

While the Greek culture served as an inspiration for that of India this cannot be said of its influence in Central Asia. Some influence it did have on the Kings of Khwarezm, although they never came under the political domination of the Greeks.

In the middle Vakhshu valley remains of this culture have been found in Termiz and other places, but it did not last, for the influence of Islam was felt in these regions from the 8th to the 10th centuries A.D., and the art of making images therefore had no chance to flourish. In Turphan and other places however models have been found which show the influence of Greek-Bactrian culture on Eastern Central Asia and Western China.

CHAPTER 11

THE SCYTHIANS (From 130 B.C. to 425 A.D.)

1. The Yuchis

By 176 B. C. the Huns being pressed back by the Chinese attacked their western neighbours, the Yuchis, who had to leave their homelands and flee further westwards. Entering the lands of the Saiwang Scythians, the lesser Yuchis settled in the Terim valley while the greater Yuchis reached the Sir Darya, driving the Wusuns before them. From the Tyanshan mountains they advanced to Fargana, where they came into conflict with the Bactrian Kings Accrotid and Heliokal. They seem to have taken possession of Fargana early in the reign of Heliokal, because after 142 B.C. the history of the Greek Bactrians becomes wholly obscure.

Apart from their struggle against the Wusuns we do not hear much of them after they left their original homeland in Kansu until 124 B.C, when the traveller Chang Kyan found them settled in the Yarkast and Vakhshu Valleys. Chang Kyan was sent by the Chinese Emperor to persuade Yuchis to attack the Huns from the west, thus relieving the pressure on China. Chang Kyan found that they had been living a nomadic life in the rich valleys south of the Yarkast and Sir Darya, while the Huns lived to the north of these valleys. The Yuchis preferred a pastoral life to that of a settled one of cultivation and trade, and roamed with their tents and flocks in Fargana, Tahiya (Bactria), and Un Si (Parthia). One of their most powerful tribes, the Thogorians settled in Thogor, on the silk route. Chinese writers mention the existence of Togoro in the the second century B.C. in the territories occupied by the Yuchis. The Kushans were either a branch of this tribe, or were connected with the lesser Yuchis. The town of Kucha in the Terim valley bears a Kushan name while Tukhari names have been found in existence in the deserts of Central Asia. Bactria itself came to be called Tukhar. Swen Chang has also named the lands on either side of the Vakhshu, from Darband to the Hindu Kush mountains as Tukhar. The Arabs called it Tukharistan. Later, because of the domination of the Turks over this region, it came to be referred to by the Afghans and the Iranians as Turkestan. The Tukhari language as spoken by the Kushans was a branch of the Scythian tongue and was connected with the Kentum family of Indo-European languages. The blue eyes of women as also their European costumes as displayed in the pictures found in Kucha, and considerable influence of the Kentum language there led some European scholars to conclude that this was a race that had migrated from Europe and settled in a pocket in the vast Scythian domain. But to arrive at the truth it is necessary to determine the extent of the influence of the Kentum language. Blue eyes and fair hair were to be found among the Scythians as well, hence they cannot be a determining factor. Buddha had blue eyes and those of the mother of the great poet Ashvaghosh were golden. Coats similar to those of the women of Kucha are worn by the women of Jaunpur in the Himalayas even today. (Here the word Jaun is not derived from the Greek Yavan but from Jamuna). It should be noted too that language does not always give an indication of racial origin.

In 128 B.C. Chang Kyan found the Yuchis settled between Samarkand and the Vakhshu river. Fargana was peopled by the Scythians, but they had accepted the overlordship of the Yuchis. The mountains to their north and east were inhabited by the Wusuns. The Yuchis took advantage of Heliokal's preoccupation with his Indian conquest to destroy the Greek-Bactrian Empire.

The Yuchis spoke Scythian while the Wusuns, Seiwangs, Kungs and Parthians all spoke dialects akin to the Scythian, that is why Chang Kyan has stated that from Fargana to Parthia a common language was in use. When the Roman historian Stravo spoke of the conquest of Bactria by the Scythians, he was referring to the Yuchis. Roman historians mention the names of four tribes as conqerors of Bactria - The Assei, the Pasioni, the Tukhari and the Sakroli. Of these the Assei are definitely Yuchis and there are scholars who consider the Tukharis also to have been Yuchis. Later, in the struggle between the five Scythian tribes, the Kushans came out victorious. It is possible that these included the four Scythian tribes referred to by the Romans. Two variants of the Tukhari language have been found in Central Asia, of which one was the language of Karashar and the other of Kucha. The second was definitely connected with the Kushans. But these writings refer to a much later period of history.

In keeping with the Scythian traditions, women had a place of honour in Yuchi social life, so much so that the husband consulted his wife even on matters unrelated to the household. In the battle in which Cyrus was killed the commander was a Scythian woman.

The Scythians had an army of a hundred thousand mounted archers which no Greek army could withstand. But the lure of conquest had seized them so strongly that even when their own land was in danger Heliokal could not refrain from marching across the Hindu Kush mountains to conquer India. It was during this period that the Yuchis advanced from the north like a flood and that in the east the Parthians, with the help of the Kungs, seized Parthia north of the Caspian sea, and established a vast empire. They settled a number of Scythians in Eastern Iran (Sistan).

The sixth Parthian king, Phrat II, led a large army composed of these very Scythians against Antioch, the Selukan king. A dispute arose between the Parthians and Scythians during the war and the Scythians revolted. Phrat died in the battle and after that the conflict between the Yuchis and Parthians continued to grow. Phrat's successor, Mithrdat II, died in the same way. Mithrdat had realised only too well that the Scythians could not be dispossessed of their hold over Central Asia and thus his dream of extending the Parthian Empire from the Mesopotamia to Bactria remained unrealised.

The Parthians avenged the murder of their two kings. They could not do much against the Yuchis of Bactria but Mithrdat's commander, Soren, forced the Scythians out of Sistan. The Yuchis of Sistan fled to Baluchistan and Sindh where they established a kingdom of their own. In course of time they spread to Saurashtra, Avanti and Mathura and by 77 B.C. under the leadership of Mog (Kshahrat dynasty), their flag was flying over the entire region from Gandhar to Kapisha.

2. THE KSHAHRAT DYNASTY

It is difficult to ascertain the exact relationship between the Yuchis of Bactria and the Kshahrats of India. It is possible that different tribes ruled over different parts of the territory. From coins, so far discovered it appears that prior to the arrival of these Bactrian Yuchis some other Yuchis came over to India. The earlier Yuchis, led by Mog, had their capital in Taxila, while the Bactrian Yuchis were in Bamiyan. Mog, Ipan and Rajubul, who ruled over various parts of the Yuchi Empire, were all of Kshahrat origin, hence it would be correct to describe the branch of the Scythians who came to India as being under the rule of the Kshahrat dynasty.

The first Scythian ruler in India about whom something is known, was Mog. There were a number of satraps under him in Ujjain and Mathura belonging to the same family. Mog also annexed Taxila to his kingdom. His earlier coins bore the inscription 'King Mog', but he seems later to have copied the Greek inscriptions and issued coins bearing the words "Rajati Rajas Mahatos Mous" i.e. "The king of Kings, Great Mog". Mog was able to extend his empire right up to the Jhelum. Beyond that the descendents of Menander, Strat I and II and others were ruling and parts of the Punjab were under them. After the emergence of the powerful kingdom of Mog in the west a number of independent republics between the Ravi and the Jamuna which had been suppressed by Menander, came to life again. Mathura was conquered by Mog and Rajubul became the main satrap of this region. When the Scythian Empire began to break up after the death of Mog, Rajubul set himself up as an independent King. Before him the Satrap Hogan had ruled over the area. Rajubul was succeeded by Sodas, who continued to rule till 10 B.C.

The coins issued by Mog bore the inscriptions "Bsaileus Mous". They also bore the name of Hermeus the Greek Bactrian king of Kabul (Kapisha) who was very likely later defeated by Mog.

It is difficult to get an exact picture of the situation in Central Asia at that time. In India the Scythians were later to be replaced by the Parthians, though the latter could not grow very strong in Bactria. From the 3rd to the 7th century A. D., the Sasani (Iranian) dynasty ruled over the area and as a result of years of domination the Parthians had become so much a part of the people and had won such a place in the life of the country that the Sasanians continued to honour the Parthian nobles, especially those descendents of Soren, the Parthian general who lived near Tehran.

Not satisfied with driving the Yuchis out of Iran, the Parthians watched their growth in India with jealous eyes. The nomadic Yuchis had adopted many of the customs of the Iranians, including their title of Satrap. After Mog the Parthians ruled over North-Western India for about a quarter of a century.

3. The Parthians (48-25 B. C.)

It is from their coins that we begin to learn about the Parthians. Pahlav, Pallav, Parthiv and Parthian, are different forms of the same name. The parthian dynasty ruled over Iran from 249 B. C. - 226 A. D. There were twenty-nine kings in their dynasty. It was only after a fierce struggle that they were able to oust the Selukan rulers from Iran and excepting the Persian it was the Greek culture that wielded the greatest influence over them. Though the Scythians, Parthians and Greeks fought bitterly amongst themselves for power in India and outside they considered themselves as brothers. In the period after the biginning of the Christian era many of the ruling dynasties of India were of Parthian origin. The Parthians intermarried with Indians, rose to high positions and ultimately, as Rajputs, became part of the ancient Kshatriya caste of India. They also developed ties with the Satvahans by means of marriage. A branch of these people, the Ikshvaku, which ruled in Katak (Dist Guntur), has left relics in the shape of stupas and shrines in Sriparvat, Nagarjuni Konda and other places. From their stone inscriptions we find that they too were connected by marriage with the Scythians of Ujjain. The Parthian kings of the south who established a powerful kingdom in Kanchi were descendents of this branch. They ruled in the South for four centuries, exercising a powerful influence over an Indian culture that was to spread as far as Java and Combodia. Thus the quarter century of Parthian rule before the Christian era was a matter of no small significance in Indian history.

Taxila was the capital of the independent Parthian kings. Their coins reveal that there were seven in the dynasty—Bonan, Spalhar, Spalharish, Spalgadam, Ay, Ayilis, and Gundphar (7 - 25 A. D.)

In the absence of any other source of information coins are the only means we have of learning about the parthian kings. But those historians who consider Bonan to have been the first Parthian King forget the period of Parthian rule in Iran. In fact, Bonan was the sixteenth Parthian king. It was probably in his reign that the Parthian kingdom in India became a separate kingdom and Spalhar was either his son or brother. Parthian coins were not only minted for India but for the entire Parthian Empire. Spalhar's coins bear the inscription "Basileus Besileon" on one side and "Maharaja Bhratas Dhramias Spalharas" on the other. **Dhramias** meant a follower of the Buddhist faith. But between the death of Mog and the beginning of Bonan's reign a period of thirty five years had elapsed. The coins of Bonan bore the words "Bonan, king of kings", while Spalhar was described on the coins as only Maharaj Bhrat, thus indicating that he was only a viceroy ruling on behalf of the king. The Parthian rulers of India followed Mog in using the Greek script and images of Greek deities on their coins. Some of their coins are square and carry the image of Hercules on one side and that of the great goddess Pallas on the other. Some of them again bear the name of Spalhar and his son Spalgadam. The word "Dhramis" indicates that they had adopted Buddhism as their religion. The Prakrit language is used in that Kharosthi script which had been prevalent in Northern India since the time of Asoka.

The Parthians were so closely linked with the Greeks that even when they reached Saurashtra and Avanti where the Brahmi script was in use, they continued to employ the Greek script. The coins of Spalharish bear the image of a king carrying the Trisul—three-pronged rod used by priests in India. On one side, the name of the king and his titles are written in Greek characters while on the other is an image of the Greek god Zeus on his throne with the inscription in Kharosthi characters "Maharajas, Mahtas, Spalharish". It is very likely that Spalharish had become an independent king, for another of his coins bears the inscription in Greek, "Spalharish" on one side and on the other "Ay" in Kharosthi which indicates that the latter was his satrap. Spalhar and Spalharish were Bonan's brothers, but it is dfficult to determine exactly how Spalgadam, Spalhar and Spalharish were related to Ay.

Some of the Parthian coins, especially those of Ay, also bore images of Indian gods. Ten kinds of silver and various kinds of copper coins issued by him have been found. In both, the predominance of images of Greek gods reveal their kinship with the Greeks.

Parthian coins had one side reserved for the image of the king and the names of his titles and the other for those of his satraps.

One of the satraps of Ayilish was Aspvarma, whose coins bear his name and image on one side while on the other is the image of Pallas Athena, the Greek goddess, with the inscription, "Indravarma Putras Aspvarmas Stratagas

Jaytas". Varma later became the common title of all the Parthian kings of the south and this title was used till recent times by the Kings of Travancore and Cochin in Southern India.

It is said that Pakor, the last of the Parthian kings, was defeated by Kujul, who founded the Kushan dynasty. Pakor was the 22nd king of the Parthian dynasty (277 A. D.). Dundphar is a king who also deserves special mention. Some historians, such as Professor Rakhaldas Banerji, are of the opinion that he ruled in the period of Kanishk and Huvishk (78-152). As usual, his coins bear his name in Greek characters on one side and on the other the image of Pallas Athena with his title in Kharosthi. His brothers Athagni and Avgad ruled as his satraps. Coins issued by Pakor, Sanvar and others, who were the last of the Parthian kings, have also been found.

Comparative Table of Scythian and Parthian Kings

Year	India	China	Central Asia	Iran
1	Shatvahan	Pingti 1 to 6	Bonan	Parthiv
			Ay	Arud
			Gandphar	Ardvan
20		Kwangvuti	Kujul	
40	Hal			Vardan
			Vim	Valgash
60		Mingti		
		Changti	Kanishk	Pakor
		Hoti		
100	Gomtiputr	Anti	Vashishk	Khusru
			Kanishk	
120		Shanti	Huvishk	
				Valgash
140	Pudumavi	Huanti	Vasudev	
160	Yagasri	Lingti		
180		Syanti		Valgash

Kushan (25 to 425 A. D.)

We have already narrated how the Yuchis occupied Central Asia and also how one of their branches, after living for some time in Sistan, was forced out by the Parthians and came to India. The name of this tribe is not known. It may not be right to call it Scythian because other Scythians had come before them. The first wave of Scythian immigrants from Sistan belonged to that Kshahrat dynasty which gave rulers to Taxila, Saurashtra, Avanti and Mathura. It was their old enemies the Parthians who first seized their kingdoms. The next powerful Scythian dynasty that appears in history is that of Kushan.

Some historians consider them to have been a branch of the Tukhars (a part of the Lesser Yuchi tribe). While the Greater Yuchis were occupying Bactria, Kapisha, Gandhar and Sindh, the Lesser Yuchis were consolidating their hold on the Pamirs and the Gilgit mountains. There was a struggle for power among the five Scythian tribes and the Kushans, under the leadership of their Chieftain Kujul, was victorious. After his triumph Kujul did not try to destroy the other tribes, but united them against the Parthians.

Kushan Dynasty

Kujul Kadphish	25-50 A.D.
Vim Kadphish	50-74
Kanishk	74-101
Vashishk	101-3
Kanishk II	119
Huvishk	120-52
Vasudev	152-86
Piro	End of 4th century

Kujul Kadphish

At the time of the victory of Kujul Kadphish the Greek king Hermeus was ruling over Kapisha. The coins of Hermeus also bear the name of Kujul, while one of those of Kujul bears the Greek inscription, "Basileus Kushano Kujalo Kadphijoyus", with an image of Hermeus on one side and that of Hercules on the other and the inscription in Kharosthi characters "Kujul Kusus yungas Dhramthidas". This indicates, according to the practice then prevalent of inscribing the name of the king on one side and his satrap on the other, that is Hermeus was the king and Kujul the satrap.

Kujul was the Yuvgu or satrap of the Kushan dynasty and the use of the word Dhramthidas indicates allegiance to Buddhism. In the first century A.D. Buddhism had spread into the Terim valley and in the southern part of this province Indian script was being used, while the names also show that a large number of settlers from India had gone there. The northern part of the Terim valley was inhabited by the Scythians. Although there were differences in language and customs, the area between the Karakoram and Kwenlun mountains may be considered to have been part of greater India. North of this was the land of the Scythian Tukhars. As far as religion is concerned Buddhism was common to both regions ; it is therefore no matter for surprise that the Kushan King Kujul was a Buddhist. The later Kushan coins bear no image of Hermeus, and carry on one side the head of the King and the word Kujul in Greek characters and on the other an image of a God, a camel, or the King, with the words, "Kushan Yuvgus Dhramthidas", or "Mahrajas Mahatas Kushan", etc.

It is likely that Kujul began his rule as a Satrap under Hermeus. A number of Greek rulers, ousted by the Yuchis from Bactria, had come and set up kingdoms in the Pamirs and the Chitral mountains and considered themselves descendents of Alexander. Hermeus was very likely the descendent of these Greek rulers.

Kujul had to struggle all his life to lay the foundations of the Kushan empire. Chinese sources also mention his name and state that he lived for eighty years.

Vim Kadphish (50-78)

Vim is considerd by Chinese writers to have been the first conqueror of India. He extended his kingdom beyond Kapisha and Gandhar as far as the Jamuna and also conquered Bactria.

An important feature of his reign was the introduction of gold coins for the first time India. Prior to the Greeks, square coins made of silver or copper had been current in India. The Greeks introduced round coins bearing images of the reigning kings. Those issued by the Parthians were crude copies of the Greek coins. Vim's gold coins weighed 124 grs. and were modelled on those of Rome. Gold coinage had an important role to play in promoting international trade. Even before this India had carried on trade with Greece, Rome, Africa, Java, China and Central Asia. Caravans carried Indian merchandise by land and sea and brought back goods to India from other lands in return. But with the introduction of gold coins, traders could bring back large quantities of goods without having had to carry goods to those markets.

Vim's gold coins bear the image of Shiv on one side, and on some of them in addition to the name of the king, the word "Maheswar" was inscribed. According to certain scholars, Kujul was a worshipper of Buddha, while Vim was a devotee of Shiv. But the mere use of the word "Maheswar" should not be taken to mean that he was a follower of Shiv because this term is also synonymous with King or Emperor. Other coins issued by him, however, also carry image of Shiv. It should not be inferred that these rulers were converted to Buddhism or Hinduism only after coming to India, for it has to be remembered that the influence of Hindu culture already extended to the homelands of the Scythians in Central Asia.

Kanishk (76-106)

Kanishk, the descendent of Vim, was one of the great rulers of Asia. It is not known in what way he was related to Vim, just as the relationship between Vim and Kujul has not been discovered. Kujul was one of the Satraps of the Kushans, but according to the custom of the nomads Vim might have been either his brother or his son. Kanishk inherited from Vim a vast empire that spread from the Ganges to the Vakhshu. At that time trade based on the gold coinage was flourishing.

The era that begins with Kanishk's coming to the throne is called the Shak-Shalivahan era - Shalivahan being another name for Satvahan, which is a common title among the noble families of Andhra. As the Satvahans intermarried with the Shaks or Scythians, the term Shak-Shalivahan came to be commonly used.

Like Asoka, Kanishk was a pious Buddhist as well as a brave soldier and able administrator. Inscriptions at Sarnath reveal that within three years of his coming to power he had gained control of the whole of U. P. In places as far away as the deserts of Khwarezm the ruins of towns built in the reign of Kanishk have been found. That is why scholars have used the term Kushan to describe the culture that flourished in the area in the first three centuries of the Christian era. The ruins of Ayeskala, Jildik and Topruk-kala belong to this period and amongst the articles found there are coins minted by Kanishk. Only partial accounts of the finds in this area have been published in a few Russian journals and a complete study of the materials has yet to be made.

The excavations here have uncovered important pictures of the third century. One of the rooms dug up contains bows, arrows and other weapons, made with consummate skill. It is probable that inscriptions of that period may also be found among the ruins. Since tons of coins have been dug up in the single district of Azamgarh in India and as the inscriptions of Kanishk have been found in Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Bhawalpur, Mathura, Kausambhi, Sarnath and so on, it is not at all impossible that important discoveries may also be made in the Karokam and Kizilikum deserts.

We get an idea of the period during which Kanishk reigned from the inscriptions made by him and his descendents. The last inscription of Kanishk dates from the twenty third year of his reign. In Mathura and Sanchi there are two inscriptions dated the twenty-fourth and twenty-eighth year of the Shak era respectively. This means that in 102 and 106 A.D., Kanishk was still the ruler of the Kushans. In Peshawar there is an inscription which says, "Son of Vashishk, king of kings, son of God...the 42nd year of Kanishk's reign". But it is doubtful if the son of Vashishk referred to here was the same Kanishk. From other inscriptions it is apparent that Vashihk and Huvishk were either satraps of Kanishk, or that there was some other Kanishk who ruled between the reigns of Vasishk and Huvishk.

It is clear, however, that Kanishk ruled at least for twenty-three years and from the excavations of Khwarezm it has become certain that his empire spread over the whole of modern Uzbekistan and Tazikistan. Could Kanishk forget the Terim valley, the homeland of his ancestors ? The whole of the valley and the silk route up to Fargana had been in the hands of the Chinese. The Wusuns living north of the Terim valley were not only close allies of the Chinese but were related to them by ties of marriage. It was the Chinese who stood in the way of Kanishk. Their commander Pan Chao, who was well-known for his valour and military skill, had not only occupied the Terim valley, but was threatening Kashmir and other provinces of the North.

The time came when Kanishk asked the Chinese Emperor for the hand of a Chinese princess. He felt that if the Wusun Chiefs, who were in no way superior to some of his third-rate satraps, could be given Chinese princesses in marriage there was no reason why he should not be given one. But Pan Chao arrested his emissary. This was too great an insult to brook for the ruler of an empire that stretched from Bengal to Khwarezm. Kanishk marched against Pan Chao at the head of a large army. But while Kanishk's forces had to cross the Pamirs and the Himalayas, Pan Chao's armies, thanks to his allies the Wusuns and the southern Huns, were there to meet him. Kanishk was not only defeated but was forced to agree to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor. After a few years, however, Kanishk took revenge. By this time Pan Chao had died and his son had become commander of the western Chinese army. This time Kanishk inflicted a severe defeat on the Chinese and thus succeeded in extending his control over the Terim valley.

Not content with defeating the Chinese, he brought with him as hostage all the Chinese princes of Central Asia. But they were looked after with care. Fruit treees, especially the pear and peach were planted for them and a special house known as the She Lok Vihar, was built for their benefit in Kapisha. This place was visited by Swen Chang during his travels in the last half of the seventh century. The part of the Punjab (Jullunder), where they were given land upon which to settle down, came to be known as China bhukti (the Chinese district).

Kanishk was a pious Buddhist. His capital was Peshawar. Prior to this the most famous town of Gandhar was Taxila which still exists in Rawalpindi district. We get a glimpse of the prosperity of Kanishk's capital, Purushpur (Peshawar), from the descriptions of the travellers Fa Sheen and Swen Chang, who came there three centuries later. From their writings it appears that the glory of Pataliputr had been transferred to Purushpur and that Bactria had no more importance than the capital of a satrapy. Kanishk's control extended not only over the fertile valley of Fargana, but over the whole of the silk route from the eastern borders of Sinkiang to the Iranian frontier. Samarkand and other cities of Sogdhia were also under his domination. A locality on the banks of the Sogdh river, known as Kushaniya Kasba, reveals even today how the Kushans had tried to develop the area. In the deserts of Kizilkum north of the lower Vakhshu the ruins of Topruk Kala have been uncovered and these show that even the nomad Scythians were beginning to build towns. Kalhan in his "Rajtarangini" refers to a Kanishkpur established by Kanishk. Another town built by him in Taxila is known in these days as Sirsukh.

Realising the importance of trade, the Kushans paid special attention to developing trade routes. They not only used the large rivers for commerce, but even small streams which were navigable for only two or three months in the year were used for the same purpose. The Mangai stream in Azamgarh (Margvati) which flows into the Ganges at Gazipur though small was used by them. In Siswa, on the western banks of this stream, heaps of Kanishk coins have been found and are still being dug up. Siswa was a busy trading centre during the period of the Kushan rulers. There were hundreds of such streams in the vast empire of Kanishk which were used as trade routes.

Topruk Kala, a fortified settlemnt, reveals at one and the same time the artistic perfection and utilitarian sense of the Kushans. At the southern end of the town there was a strong gate which led to a road going north to south. It is most likely that the administrator of the settlement lived in the southern part. Branching off from the main road and at equal angles were four other roads to the right and left, on both sides of which were houses and shops. The settlement was about a thousand yards long and six hundred wide. In the opinion of Prof. N. T. Tolstof, who is directing the excavations, this is a fine example of ancient classical architecture. In India, too, Bharshivs and later the Gupta rulers, adopted the art and administrative system of the Scythians.

Earlier the Bactrian Greeks had encouraged art, but it was only in the reign of Kanishk that a many-sided development took place and that art merged with the traditions of the Indian people. Thus the task of converting the Bactrian-Greek culture into the Gandhar-Indian culture was completed only in the reign of Kanishk.

Mathura had been the capital of the satraps ever since the time of the Greek and Parthian rulers. It was there that the trade routes of Taxila, Pataliputr and Central Asia met. The Buddhists too had their centre in the town, especially those of the Sarvastivadi sect to which Kanishk himself belonged. As a result of its religious importance Mathura had developed into an important centre of architecture and sculpture. It had not in fact acquired all its importance merely because it was the birth place of Krishna.

There were numerous other towns like Mathura, both in Central Asia and in India in the time of the Kanishk.

Kanishk and Buddhism

After Asoka, Kanishk is the most important figure in the history of Buddhism. After conquering Pataliputr he took with him the poet Ashvaghosh, the writer of the two epics, "Budhcharit" and "Saundernand". Only parts of the former are extant in Sanskrit, but the complete text is available in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Parts of a Sanskrit copy of the drama "Sariputre Prakaran", have been found in the Terim valley and there are references to another drama, "Rashtrpal", even though it has not yet actually been found, either the original or in translation. Ashvaghosh was the first dramatist to introduce a new style of acting and a stage with curtains and scenes. Just as the Mathura culture was an Indianisation of the Gandhar culture, Ashvaghosh's plays successfully Indianised Greek drama. As in Greece itself the Greek cities of Asia attached great importance to drama, so that the Greek cities in India always had a stage upon which purely Greek dramas were performed.

Among the most revered teachers of Kanishk were Parshv and Vasumitr. Under the direction of Vasumitr Kanishk organised a Buddhist conference in the Kashmir valley for the purpose of compiling the Buddhist texts. It was here that the three collections of basic Sarvastivad were compiled and commentaries on them prepared. Unfortunately none of the original Sanskrit texts of these commentaries can now be found.

A Tibetan translation of the original collection is available as is a Chinese version of both the text and the commentary. The collection throws considerable light on the Buddhist social and economic life of that period and the commentaries are an even richer storehouse of information. Kashmir and Gandhar continued as centres of the Sarvastivadi cult even after the Kushan dynasty had ceased to exist. A great fusion of Greek and Indian culture began in the time of the Kushan kings. Indian texts on law, astrology, economics and so forth, reveal considerable Greek influence.

Charak, the founder of Ayurved, was another famous scholar .patronised by Kanishk, while Matrichet, a Buddhist writer, prepared books that taught young students the principles of Buddhism. Tibetan tradition considers that Matrichet and Ashvaghosh were one and the same person. Matrichet means servant of the mother. Ashvaghosh in all his writings added after his name "son of Suvarnakshi, resident of Saket". It is clear that he loved his mother and his birthplace. But it would be wrong to conclude that Matrichet and Ashvaghosh were identical. Kanishk's capital was the meeting place of the greatest doyens of art and culture. Such an accumulation of talent was not seen again till Chandragupta Vikramaditya who followed his example three centuries later.

A large number of Kanishk coins have been found from Bihar to the Aral sea. The face of these coins bears an image of a Scythian wearing a long robe, pointed cap and high boots and holding a spear and goad with the inscription in Greek which runs as follows : "Basileus Vesikon Shoonano Shao Kanishko

Kushano" (King of kings, Emperor of Emperors, Kanishk Kushan). On the reverse are images of Hercules or other Greek, Iranian or Scythian deities, or of Buddha.

It was not smiply an admiration for the Greek, but the force of prevalent custom, that led them to use Greek on their coins instead of the Prakrit or Kharosthi scripts. Kanishk's firm attachment to Buddhism is apparent from the stupas erected by him in Peshawar, Taxila, and elsewhere. At the fourth Buddhist conference that was held in Kashmir, Kanishk had a commentary inscribed on copper plates and built a stupa to store it, but the latter has not yet been found. Many of the sutras (verses) were composed in Andhra and Cuttack and later their influence was to reach Gandhar, when, in the 4th century, Basubandhu and Agraj became firm supporters of the Buddhist cult. Adding temporalism to the scientific outlook of Plato they founded the philosophical sect of Yogachar. Inspired by this, Shankaracharya founded his Vedanta school of philosophy.

It seems most probable that Kanishk ruled for twenty-three years. The story that he was killed by the Scythians because they were tired of his continual campaigns of conquest, is not credible. The head of Kanishk is found engraved on his coins. A life-size statue of him is in the Mathura museum, where he can be seen with his right hand resting on a stick, his left holding a hatchet and wearing Scythian high boots. A robe is draped round him and his name is inscribed below.

Vashishk (101 to 106 A. D.)

So little is known about Vashishk that many scholars hold the view that he never actually succeeded to the throne. But two of his inscriptions, dated the 24th and 28th year of the Shak era, have been found in Sanchi and Mathura. There is no doubt that he ruled for a very short time and it is possible that this was just the period when the dispute as to the rightful succession was rife. Kanishk's empire spread over a very large area and Vashishk's control may have been confined to only one part of it. Again, there is the possibility that he may have been no more than a satrap under Kanishk who was trying to pass himself off as the king.

Kanishk II

There is an inscription near Peshawar, the Kushan capital, which speaks of Kanishk as the son of Vashishk and that describes him as the king of kings, son of the Lord, etc. This cannot obviously apply to the famous Kanishk and must, therefore, be a reference to a Kanishk II, who might also have been a satrap under Huvishk or who might have ruled during the period of the dispute regarding the succession.

Huvishk (120–152)

He was undoubtedly the most powerful successor to Kanishk, since he was able to establish control over the whole of the vast empire. A stone inscription of his has been found in the Mathura district and is still preserved in the Mathura Museum.

In this inscription there is a declaration regarding a donation of 1100 coins given for the feeding of a hundred Brahmins every month on the fourteenth day of the waxing moon for spiritual glory of Huvishk and his dear ones. The inscription also makes it clear that in 106 A. D. the satrapy of Mathura, which had jurisdiction over practically the whole of U. P. was under Huvishk.

A Buddhist vihar (monastery) was built in Mathura by Huvishk and was named after him. In Kashmir also there is a city named after him which is known as Hushkpur or Ushkur. Inscriptions made by him, dating from the 28th to the 60th year of the Shak era, still exist and are an indication that he must have ruled during that period.

Remains of the Kushan culture have been discovered in Khwarezm, although details of the finds there up till now are known only to Russian scholars. The period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D, is generally regarded as the time of the Kushan culture. Numerous coins of various designs issued by Huvishk have been found bearing his image and his name on the one side and on the other the faces of Greek, Iranian or Indian deities, with their names in Greek. The use of Greek makes it clear that the Kushan empire was not confined to India, but that it extended over a large part of Asia.

Fargana, Sogdhia and Bactria were highly prosperous regions during the reign of Huvishk. To the west lay the powerful Parthian Empire. The Kushans sent their goods to Rome and Europe by the trade route along the northern shores of the Caspian and through the territories of the Alans and Samaritans.

Vasudev : 152-186

This name indicates that the Kushans had by this time become completely Indianised. Kujul, Vim, Kanishk, Vashishk and Huvisok, are all Scythian names, but Vasudev cannot be other than Indian. None of the coins of Huvishk bear the image of Buddha, but those of Shiv, Vishakh and so on, are frequently found, which indicate that Huvishk was a devotee of Brahamanism and that is probably the reason why he named his son Vasudev.

Inscriptions of Vasudev, dating from 152-176, have been found and so we know that he reigned for at least twenty-four years. His inscriptions are confined to Mathura and from his coins found in the Punjab and UP, we can deduce that his Empire was now restricted to India. The frequent use of images of Shiva and Nandi on his coins reveal that the Kushans had now merged completely with the Hindus.

Although his coins have not been found outside India, Central Asia was still under Kushan influence but the paucity of his coins, even in India, show that the strength of the Empire was declining.

In recent years discoveries have been made in Central Asia which show that Kushan rule continued in the area till the end of the 3rd century. Between the 3rd and 5th century, as the excavations of Yekepursan, Tupruk-kala etc. have revealed, the Afrigs replaced them. Bactria, Pamir and Sogdhia, had also been part of the Kushan empire. The Kushans have sometimes been called the Tukharis because of their origin. Their main centre was the area on both sides of the middle Vakhshu, which was then called Tukharistan, a name also used by early Arab writers to describe this region.

Vasudev was succeeded in India by Vasudev II and by Kanishk III. The last Kushan rulers were known by the name Kidar and were under the Sasanis. Peshawar was the capital of the first Kidar Kushan king. He conquered Kashmir, and Central Punjab and grew strong enough to declare himself independent of the Sasanis. He issued his own coins which resembled those of the Sasanis. His coins had his own image and name in Brahmi script on the one side and on the other the sacrificial fire with two attendants on either side of it.

Piro : End of the 4th century.

Kidar was the last of the Kushan rulers with no influence, for in the reign of Samudragupta and Chandragupta the Kushans suffered severe setbacks. Chandragupta II (375-414) inflicted a defeat on Piro, who suffered another defeat at the hands of Shapur and had again to accept Sasani suzerainty. By the beginning of the 5th century Kushan power had declined considerably. In Central Asia too they met with the same fate, but it is now known exactly how the Hephtals (white Huns) replaced them.

CHAPTER 12

The Hephtals (Ephthalites 425-557)

The Hephtals are referred to in India and Iran, as Huns, but this is incorrect. Under pressure from the Huns the Yuchis and other Scythian tribes had left their homelands in Central Asia and migrated to the south, but in the west remnants of the Scythians continued to exist and were considerably influenced by Hun culture. The Hephtals cannot therefore be considered Huns, but may be called Hunnish Scythians.

The northern part of Central Asia was still inhabited by nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, but the reasons that led the Huns to migrate from the north to the Danube valley also forced the Hephtals to move southwards. The Hephtals were thus descendents of the western Scythians and related to the Alans. Their tribe very likely inhabited the area north of modern Tashkend where the boundaries of the Wusun and Kung territories met.

In the 5th century it was the Afrigs who dominated Khwarezm and they retained their independence till the sixth century. The Hephtals continued their drive southwards to Sogdh and Bactria. After conquering the Kushans who lived there they proceeded to occupy the Kapisha and Gandhar regions of the Kushan Empire. The main centre of the Hephtals was not the Vakhshu valley but the Sogdh valley. Ruins of their capital have been discovered near Bokhara, where the influence of Indian culture is evident.

Greek and Armenian writers have referred to the Hephtals as Aptolits or Ephtals. They have also been called white Huns. The historian, Prof. Prokop, mentions them as white Persians. The name white Hun was given to them because they were of fairer complexion and had a more developed culture than the Huns. In the sixth century they formed the dividing line between the Sasani and the Chinese Empires. The rule of Torman and Mihirkul, kings of the Hephtal dynasty, extended to India also and their coins have made it clear that they were not Huns. The Hun was usually beardless, while the pictures of Torman and Mihirkal show them as having heavy beards. The coins of Torman are exact copies of the Gupta coins. On one side they bear the king's head and his name in Gupta script and on the other the picture of a peacock. He probably considered himself successor to the Gupta empire in India.

Torman and Mihirkul are the only two Hephtal rulers whose names are known. While Torman was ruling in India the Sasani Kawad was ruling over Iran. The Hephtals had to contend with the Guptas in India, but they also had to fight against the Sasanis who were their bitterest enemies. Piroj, the father of Kawad, died in battle against the Hephtals.

Excavations in Bokhara have been made in recent times by Soviet historians and the pictures and buildings found there reveal the impact of Indian culture on the Hephtals. The Sun temple built by Torman in Gwalior is also an indication of this influence.

The Iranians and the Hephtals

The Hephtals had grown so powerful that on many occasions the Iranian kings had to sue them for mercy. The Hephtals replaced the Kushans and became Iran's neighbour in the reign of King Behram Gor of Iran (421-438). The Hephtals occupied Bactria and raided Khurasan, but Behram met them with a large army and forced them to retreat across the Vakhshu. This however, had no lasting effect, for the strife continued in the reign of Behram's son Yajdgurd II (438-457). A dispute as to who should succeed to the Iranian throne arose between Hormuzd the heir and his brother Piroj. The latter went to Akhshunwar, chief of the Hephtals, for help and returned with a large Hephtal army, with the result that Hormuzd lost both his kingdom and his life.

The Hephtals wanted to keep Piroj in subjection, but he made a bid for freedom and attacked the son of Akhshunwar who was governor of Bactria. He was badly defeated, was forced to conclude peace on the most humiliating terms and when he failed to pay tribute in terms of the treaty the Hephtals attacked and killed him. The Sasani empire now became wholly dependent on the Hephtals and soon their capital Mesopotamia itself was threatened.

Armenia was politically and culturally part of Iran, but because the Roman Emperor was eager to seize it, there was a constant struggle between the Iranians and Romans for its control.

Armenia had embraced Christianity and had thus come closer to Rome. The Iranian general Jermeher was conducting a campaign in Armenia when news of the death of Piroj reached him and he had to rush back to Iran. At first Balakh, the brother of Piroj, was placed on the throne but within three years he was replaced by Kawad, Piroj's son.

Khusro Kaushekhan, the successor of Kawad, had also to contend against the Hephtals. But by the middle of the 6th century the Hephtals themselves had become civilised and, thanks to the influence of Indian and Iranian culture, had begun to lead a settled life. In accordance with the trend of Central Asian history, however, they too had to give way to another nomodic tribe. By 540 A. D., Tumin Llikhan defeated the Awars and founded the Turkish Empire. Unable to expand eastwards because of the Chinese empire he decided to move westwards. Muyu Khan, his brother, succeeded him and allying himself with the Iranians, routed the Hephtals. The Hephtal empire was then divided between the Iranians and the Turks—Bactria and Tukharistan going to Iran and the area beyond the Vakhshu to the Turks. The alliance between the Turks and the Sasanis was cemented by the marriage between the daughter of Muyu Khan and Naushekhan, much to the displeasure of the Romans, who did not want to see the two unite.

CHAPTER 13

THE NORTHERN ZONE OF CENTRAL ASIA

Aguz, Uigur

Aguz

This was the name of an old Turkish tribe, which, according to Mo-Gil-Yan inscriptions, had been driven towards China. The Aguz were the ancestors of the Kipchiaks. Kipchiak means the hollow of a tree and this name is probably connected with an incident in their history when some chief saved himself by seeking shelter in a tree-trunk.

The Guz or Aguz Turks were divided into three branches - Kipchiaks, Kankalis and Karluks. The Selzuks, modern Turks and Osmanalis are descended from the Kipchiaks. Some historians consider the Kipchiaks also to have been the ancestors of the Kankalis. The Kankalis (Kunglis or Tinglis i. e. cartmen) acquired this name because they roamed about in carts. By the end of the 9th century the Kipchiaks had spread as far west as the Volga, where they were in constant conflict with the Slavs, forefathers of the modern Russians. The Selzuk dynasty, which ruled over Central Asia and Iran for a long time, was descended from the Kipchiaks, and the Turks of modern Turkey are descended from the Osmanali branch of this tribe. In the 7th and 8th centuries the Pechenga nomads roamed about the areas north of the Black Sea, while to the north-east of them were the Kipchiaks, to the south-west the Khajars, on the west the Guz and on the east the Slavs.

The Guz, or the Aguz, led a nomadic life and wandered over the regions which spread from the Caspian to the borders of China. From 832 to 933 A. D. they were the northern neighbours of the Sasanis and inhabited the area from Khokand and Eastern Turkestan to the banks of the Vakhşhu. After the fall of the Sasani Empire they entered Bokhara and a branch of them came to be called the Selzuks, after one of their chiefs who went by that name. Selzuk was the first amongst them to embrace Islam. Before him the Aguz had been either Buddhists or Christians. Selzuk and Suvas had served as generals under an Aguz chieftain named Pegu. The name Pegu indicates that he was a Buddhist, because Pegu means God and the Persians called Buddha, Pegu.

It was in Mongolia that the Aguz were known by that name. When they migrated to the west they came to be called the Turkmens. In the 8th century the Turkish Khan mentioned the Nine Aguz or the Takuj Aguz in his writings. They were called the Nine Aguz because there were nine tribes amongst them but sometimes the words Aguz and Turk were used synonymously. The Aguz were probably the nomads who wandered over the region from the Chinese borders to Iran and Byzantium. According to the Russian scholar Bartold, Turk was their political and Aguz their anthropological name. Arab geographers have stated that the Aguz lived between the Caspian and the Isphajab, while the Takuj Aguz were in Kucha and Turphan in the Terim valley. Ibn Asir, a geographer of the 13th century, writes that the Aguz were never under the Takuj Aguz and Chinese historians have stated that the Uigurs lived in the very areas that the Arabs have described as the homeland of the Takuj Aguz. It is also known that the Uigurs conquered Turphan in 866 A. D. It appears, therefore, that those whom Arabs had called the Takuj Aguz, were called Uigurs by the Chinese. According to Arab sources, the Takuj Aguz conquered Urusana in 820 A. D. and became masters of the area from Khojend to Jijak. According to Byzantine writers the areas west of the Volga were also under the Turks. Kerch too was seized by the Turks in 573 A. D., after it had been sacked by the Byzantines.

In 590 A. D., there was a revolt against the Byzantines. In the period of the short-lived success of the Turks, a Khazar Khan ruled over the area in 625 A. D. During the period between the 8th and 9th centuries the Khazars and the Bulgars inhabited the valley of the lower Volga and it was to defend themselves from these Turks that the Iranians built the fortified walls of Darband and Gurji. In the 6th century, the Zarathustri peasants inhabited the provinces east of the Caspian. The Aguz raided into the territories between Georgina and Chimkand (Sir valley), their northern neighbours being the Kimaks. The Arab geographer, Ibn Fazlal, found during his travels (922), that the Aguz were only living in Usturd, while the region east of the Emba river was inhabited by the Bashkirs. At that time the areas west of the caspian were inhabited by the Khazars, those to the east by the Aguz and those further east still by the Karluk nomads.

The chief of the Aguz and the Kurluks was known as Yuvgu and not Khan. Mo-Gil-Yan refers to him in his inscriptions as the Jabgu. In winter the Yuvgu shifted to the lower Sir valley. His pastures extended from the borders of Iran to the north of the Sir river.

The trade route that passed through Aguz territory was dotted with a number of Muslim towns. One of these, Yungikant, was about six kilometres from the Sir valley. This was the seat of one of the Guz kings, who also ruled over the towns of Javel and Tamarutkul.

According to Ibn Khaldun, the Aguz were extremely prosperous, some of them owning as many as a hundred thousand sheep. They traded as far as

Khwarezm and when conditions were peaceful in Sogdhia and Tukharistan, they extended their operations to the city of Paratgin, a day's distance from the Aral Sea. The city of Gurguch was situated on the trade route and trade and transport in this town were also in the hands of the Aguz.

Ibn Fazlal states that at the time of his travels the Aguz were Kafirs and he mentions one Kuchuk, an Aguz king, who had become a Muslim but later gave up Islam, according to the writings of Zakaria Kazwini, (13th century). Apart from Islam, Christianity had also been accepted by some Aguz.

Uigur

The Huns had conquered the Ting Ling tribe to their north. According to Chinese writers the Uigurs and the Khirgiz spoke the same language. At one stage the Ting Ling began to be referred to as Chirke or Terak. The tribe which accepted Chinese suzerainty in the reign of the Thang emperor Tai Suing (627-50), and that inhabited the territories lying between the Turkish and Khitun provinces, was known as the Terak tribe.

According to certain scholars, the Uigurs were a branch of the Terak tribe and inhabited the regions up to the Caspian which at the time of the Mongol conquest were occupied by the Kankalis. The Turkish word Kankali (cart) came to be pronounced by the Chinese in the reign of Chengiz as Kungli. Similarly, the Huns and Turks living north of the Gobi desert and the Issikul and Sir rivers, came to be known as the Ting Ling and later began to be called the Uigurs. When the ruling Hun tribe migrated to the west the remaining Hun tribes, except the Assena Turks and the Khirgiz, began to be called the Uigurs. Like their ancestors, they were a tribe of ferocious nomads who were given to loot and plunder. They were skilful in shooting arrows from horseback. Chulo Kagan incurred the hostility of the Uigurs by enslaving the Teraks and killing several of their chieftains. The Uigurs and a number of other tribes revolted against him. The common name for all of them was Uigur, but the chief of them was known as the Yokar tribe. The Uigurs at this time lived north of the Sayend river. They numbered more than a lakh, of whom half could take the field as active soldiers.

The Uigurs had first inhabited the Orkhan valley of modern Mongolia. Vuku khan, who looted and plundered the territories of his neighbours and returned with immense booty, was considered to have been their first king. He built the town of Urdubalik and afterwards entering Turkestan, on the west with army founded the city of Balashgun (Sujiya). Chinese history describes the Uigurs as inhabiting the areas north-west of Mongolia but in the 8th century their terriory lay exactly over that region which later became the site of Karakoram, the Mongol capital (near Olanbatur). In the 9th century, as a result of Khirgiz attacks, they split into two parts, the eastern of which came to be known as the Eastern Turks. Muslim historians make reference to the Uigurs for the first time in the 13th century. Before that they had been lumped together with the Aguz Turks.

Both culturally and politically the Uigurs were the most advanced section of the Mongols and they occupied the most important positions during the reigns of Chengiz and his successors. To this day the Uigurs are one of the four branches of the Uzbeks.

The Uigur Khans.

Kiken or Jigin was the first khan of the Uigurs, who were divided into two parts—the ancient Uigurs and the neo Uigurs. From the latter half of the 8th century to the end of the 9th they were extremely powerful and were probably the most cultured of the tribes of ancient East Asia. Their capital was Karakoram, but their tribe wandered over a large area and later, Bishbalik was to become their centre. A large number of Buddhist texts which had been translated into the Uigur tongue have been found in the Taklamkan desert, but they were also influenced by Nestorianism. In 840, their Khan was killed and they were forced to leave their homeland, which is now part of modern Mongolia. As a result of their contact with the Nestorians they adopted the Suriyana script which has been used by them from the time of Chengiz to the present day.

The chronological history of their dynasty is as follows :

After Jigin his son Bosat became the Khan in 629. The name Bosat, which is derived from Bodhisatva, shows the extent to which they were under Buddhist influence. When Jeli, the heir of Kheli Kagan, found that the Uigurs were beginning to advance, he launched a sudden attack on them and Bosat was taken prisoner. Bosat's tribe inhabited the Tula valley. In the period of the Thang dynasty, in 629 A. D. Bosat sent presents to the Chinese Emperor. After Bosat, Tumet became Khan of the Uigurs. He defeated the Sayends and absorbed their tribe into his own. But the Sayends soon succeeded in winning their independence. Alarmed by the growing power of the Uigurs under Tumet, the other Terak tribes accepted Chinese suzerainty and it is at this time that we hear of the Khirgiz as one of the Terak tribes. Their chiefs were well received by the Thang Emperor and they not only became firm allies of the Chinese, but at their request the Chinese built roads and rest-houses for them and the roads that were built ran from the Chinese capital to the centres of the Turkish tribes. Although Tumet, the Uigur Khan, pretended to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty he was actually an independent king with twelve ministers under him who administered the tribe according to the Turkish pattern.

It is not known why the Uigurs ultimately revolted against Tumet and killed him.

Borun, Birut and Tu khe Li, were the son, grandson and great-grandson of Tumet. It was during their rule that Mo Cho, one of the powerful Khans of the Assena Turks, reconquered the old Turkish territories and drove the Uigurs and other Hun tribes to the South. The Tibetans too began to grow powerful in this period and began their attacks on the entire region from the Terim valley to China. Meanwhile, the Uigurs were in alliance with the Chinese.

In 717, Bukhtewar, the son of Tu Khe Li helped China in the war against Mo Cho. Mo Cho was killed in battle and his son was banished to South China.

When Bukhtewar's son succeeded to the title, a Chinese Governor had been set up in Urumchi to keep the Uigurs under control. After the murder of Mo Cho's son by this Governor, the Uigurs killed the Governor. Taking advantage of the fact that the Turkish kingdom had begun to disintegrate after the rule of Merkirin, the Uigurs chief, who had led the revolt, fled for shelter to the Turks and his son, Kutulig Biga derived the greatest benefit from troubles that beset the Turks. He had to face the challenge of the Karluks, Viras, Basimirs and others and he beheaded the Basimir king, who was claiming the throne and sent word to the Chinese Emperor that he be given the responsibility of maintaining peace over that area. The Chinese made him Prince and set up his seat in the old capital of the Turks but it was only after he had finally vanquished the Karluks and the Basimirs that the Chinese recognised him as the Khan. After he had inflicted several. defeats on the descendents of Merkirin, he received even greater honours from the Chinese Emperor and at the time of his death the entire kingdom of the Huns was under the control of the Uigur Khan.

Moinchura (756-760)

After the death of Biga, Tegin Kal, known in ancient inscriptions as Moinchura, became Khan of the Uigurs. The struggle with the Turks was continued under the leadership of Amaroshar. At first Amaroshar fought for China against the Khittans and later against the Chinese themselves. Amaroshar also worked as an assistant to Kwozi, the famous general of Moinchura. At that time the Tibetans had occupied the former provinces of the Yuchis and both the Chinese capitals had fallen to the rebels, but the Uigurs gave the Chinese considerable help in their efforts to re-establish the control of the Thang dynasty over their main cities. As a reward for their help the Chinese permitted the Uigurs to loot Loyang

(Honan-Phu) but when this concession was withdrawn, the Chinese agreed to make an annual payment of ten thousand bales of silk in exchange for it.

In 1909, stone inscriptions in the Runni script were found in upper Silenge which give the following details of the period between the death of Azmish and that of Moinchura (745-759): "When my father died the people chose me as their leader. But some people supported Tai Bilga Kutug and they made him the Khan. I collected my army and fought against him. I came out victorious and the Lord gave the kingdom to me. But I did not oppress the people who had supported Tai or seize their homes. I punished and deposed him only."

A form of democracy prevailed among the Uigur nomads, but it did not exclude the practice of slavery. War captives were treated as slaves and it was their labour upon which the prosperity of the tribes was built.

It was from the time of Moinchura that the Uigurs replaced the Turks. Moinchura's father had been a high official under the Turks, but he had revolted against them and made his son a chief. The Takuj Aguz supported him in the revolt. "I rallied the Nau Aguz people to my support," he says in his inscriptions. "My father Kyul Bilga Kagan went with his army and sent me to the south-west as a commander of a thousand soldiers. From the inscriptions of Mo-Gil-Yan we have come to know that the Turks oppressed the Aguz (Uigurs) for which Moinchura took revenge upon them. He imprisoned Azmish the last of the Turkish Khans, and thus put an end to the Turkish dynasty.

After Moinchura his second son Yiktin came to the throne (760-777). At that time the Chinese were facing serious troubles from the Tibetans. There were many claimants to the Chinese throne. Yiktin sided with one of them and sacked Shansi and it was only by giving him lavish bribes that the people were able to escape with their lives. It was with the help of the Uigurs that the Chinese Emperor succeeded in defeating the rebels at home. The Uigur army marched for five hundred miles, ravaging and killing as they went, but despite this they were given rich presents by the Emperor as a reward for crushing the rebels.

In 765, Bukku, one of the generals of Yiktin, made an attempt to loot and plunder the Tibetans and crush them completely on the false plea of a rebellion, but he died before he could execute his plan. Yiktin saved himself by throwing the entire blame on Bukku. He also assured the Chinese Emperor that if Bukku's son was spared he would again attack the Tibetans. When the Khatun (princess) died in 768, her younger sister was sent to the Khan as a present from the Emperor together with 20,000 bales of silk. The Uigurs, fully conscious of their superiority, took their horses to the Chinese markets and asked for 40 bales of silk in exchange for each horse. Although their demand was extremly unreasonable the Chinese had no other alternative than to accept the offer. The Chinese Emperor was anxious to avoid heaping additional burdens on the people who were already groaning under the weight of various taxes, so that he was forced to come to terms. The Uigurs showed such scant respect towards the Chinese that on one occasion, an Uigur killed a Chinaman, he was let off without a trial because his companions rescued him by force.

In 778, the Uigurs started their raids again. The army that was sent by the chinese Emperor to resist them was defeated suffering a loss of ten thousand men. A second army sent out against them met with a little success, but just at that time the Emperor Tai Chung (636-80) died. Meanwhile, the Kagan was marching at the head of his entire army towards the Great Wall. Ignoring the advice of his minister, he refused to accept the salutations of the emissary sent to meet him on behalf of the Emperor and as a result his minister rose against him, declared himself "Kutulug Biga Kagan", and became master of all the Uigurs.

Durmogo Kutulug (779-789), was promptly recognised by the Chinese Emperor as the Khan. The Uigurs consisted of nine tribes, of which that most closely related to the Khan considered itself surperior to all the rest.

Some time after a number of Uigur Chiefs began their journey home with a caravan of camels laden with the property they had accumulated in China. Among the goods they had concealed a number of abducted girls, but the border guards discovered and seized them. The guilty tribes decided that the only course left open to them was to kill their chiefs and seek the shelter of the Governor of the border province—Chang Kwang Seng. The latter wrote to the Emperor for permission for them to stay, as their segregation would mean that the main Uigur forces would be considerably weakened.

Just about this time a Chinese officer was sent to the uncle of the Uigur Khan to seek an explanation for his misconduct. The Uigur noble flew into rage and ordered the officer to be whipped. But the Chinese army was waiting near and it fell upon the Uigurs and as a result the other Tartars seized a hundred thousand bales of silk and several thousand camels. The Governor informed the Chinese Emperor of his having been forced to take this step against the Uigurs because they had thrashed a Chinese officer and had tried to seize the territory of Sayer (Modern Mongolia).

Meanwhile the Chinese Ambassador who had been sent to accord recognition to the Uigur Khan, had arrived. He was promptly imprisoned and the Uigur Ministers conferred among themselves as to what other steps could be taken. Finally, Durmogo Khan sent the following message to the Chinese Emperor : "All my people are after your blood. I alone am restraining them. My uncle and all his men have been killed. To kill you now would be to try to wash out blood with blood. This would create bitterness for all time to come. I consider it better to try to wash out blood with water. By this I mean that you should compensate for the loss suffered by my people by sending two million bales of silk." The Chinese Emperor considered it wise to pay this compensation without further ado.

Three years later the Khan asked for the hand of a Chinese Princess. The Emperor wished to refuse but his ministers persuaded him to accede to the request. In return for the Chinese Princess the Uigur Khan aided the Chinese against the Western Turks.

Some time after this, Durmogo decided, with the permission of the Emperor, to change the name of his tribe to Huihu. We find later that the word Uigur was used by the Tartars to describe all Mussulmans. This was probably because the Uigurs were the first Mussulmans they had encountered.

Durmogo's brother Taras became the Khan in 789. By this time the Tibetans had grown so powerful that the entire region from Kansu to Urumchi and Barkul in the Terim valley, was under thir control. Thy also controlled the silk route to the west. The only contact of the Chinese with the Western World was through Uigur territory and the Uigurs took advantage of this to levy prohibitive taxes on all caravans passing across their land. They tried their utmost to take Urumchi from the Tibetans, but without success. To their west, the Karluks were becoming very powerful in Saptanada so that they could only expand southwards.

After the death of Taras his nephew Acho succeeded to the throne. Acho was obliged to contend against Tibetans as well as the Karluks, both of whom were powerful enemies. He died without issue in 795.

The clan elected Acho's Minister Kutulug as Khan in his place. He was well received by the Emperor. At this time the Mani religion succeeded in establishing a considerable hold in Karakhoza the capital, and for the next two hundred years the Mani temples continued to exist in the town.

Kau Sang (808-821) was the next khan of the Uigurs and he too asked for the hand of a Chinese Princess. At first the Emperor was inclined to disregard the advice of those of his ministers who argued in favour of such a marriage, because it would keep alive the strife between the Tibetans and the Uigurs. Later, however, as the result of further pressure, the Emperor Mu Chung (821-25) sent his daughter to Kau Sang but in the meantime he had died, so the gift was received by his heir.

Gudulug Jigin (821-24), who succeeded to the title, sent a huge escort for the Chinese Princess and now the Chinese Emperor conferred yet another title on the Khan —"The Great Religious One". At this time the Khittan tribe was becoming active on the borders, though it had not yet grown very strong. It was forced to accept the suzerainty of both the Uigurs and the Chinese, but it continued to create trouble.

The year 824 saw the death of both the Kagan and the Chinese Emperor, the former having been murdered. The younger brother of the Kagan, who became the next khan, met with a similar fate in 832.

The nephew of the murderd Khan was the next to succeed to the title, but when attacks were made on him by a Uigur Chief he committed suicide. The days of the Uigur dynasties were coming to a close. The deaths in quick succession of their Khans had weakened them considerably.

The next Khan who came to the throne in 840, was not even related to his predecessor. To add to their difficulties the Uigurs were already victims of an extraordinarily severe winter which caused the loss of many of their animals. This was followed by a drought which affected their pastures and then came epidemics which destroyed almost all their horses, camels, sheep and goats. A Uigur chief after conspiring with the Khirgiz killed the Khan and causing severe losses to the royal family took away the Chinese Princess. One of the surviving princes took refuge with some of his kinsmen the Karluks. Others fled for safety into Tibetan territory. Meanwhile a few of the tribes migrated to Shansi and elected the Prince Oke as their Khan.

The Uigurs were now beginning to disintegrate. The Khirgiz were planning to send the captive princess back to China, but Oke managed to seize her. After this he tried to capture Kukukhate (modern Tendus), but failed in the attempt. The Chinese Princess requested the Emperor to allow her to become the queen of the new Kagan Oke. (It was probably at this time that the custom, so long in vogue in China of the binding of the feet of women was introduced, so as to prevent them from running off with the Turks). The Emperor now recognised Oke as the Kagan and accepted him as his son-in-law. Five thousand tons of food-grains were also sent to help his clan out of its troubles. Oke's prayer that he be permitted to stay in Tai Chu was however not granted nor was his request for the city of Tendus, even as on loan. Oke retaliated by looting the entire province, but a Uigur Chief called Umuz helped the Chinese to suppress the revolt. Thirty thousand Uigurs were taken prisoners, including the Princess. Oke succeeded in escaping and taking refuge with the Khirgiz, but the latter were bribed to kill him.

In 847 Oneyan became the new Khan, but by now the strength of the tribe had dwindled to a mere five thousand. For a while there was an attempt to make Oneyan Khan of the Gheis, but it was foiled as a result of Chinese attacks on the Gheis. The remaining Uigurs took shelter with the Shirvi tribes, but when the Emperor put pressure on them to hand over Oneyan, he fled with his wife, children and a few selected families to the Karluks. . The Shirvis intended using the remaining Uigurs as their slaves, but the Khirgiz pounced on them and took the Uigurs away to the North of the Gobi desert. From there they split into small groups and ultimately succeeded in joining another branch of the Uigurs which was living in the old Turkish homeland (Kang Chau Phu).

The Last of the Uigurs

When the Western Turkish tribes had begun to break up some remnants of the Bukin tribe joined the Uigurs and after the attack by the Khirgiz they settled in the regions near Barkul. For some time they lived in Karashar, but moved subsequently to Kang Chau with their Prince. Seeing their plight the Emperor Swen Chung (747-60) took pity on them and sent his emissary to confer the title of Kagan on their leader.

By the time the Emperor Ee-Chang (860-74) came to the throne, the Uigurs had grown strong enough to aid the Chinese in driving the Tibetans out of Kansu, Jucha and other towns and under the command of their general Bukku they seized the Tibetan Governor Ke Lon in 866 and sent his head to the Chinese Emperor.

This is practically the last that we hear of the Uigurs in history. Some Chinese writers have mentioned that till the end of the 9th century they served in the army and that Uigur traders came to the Chinese border to exchange horses and jewels for Chinese silk and tea. During the rule of the Emperors of the Panch dynasty (which replaced the Than dynasty in 904) we hear of Uigur chiefs coming to the Chinese court to pay taxes. They addressed the Chinese rulers as 'uncle', because many of the Chinese princesses had been given to them in marriage. In the 9th century the Uigur influence extended from the Turphan to the bend of the Hwang Ho and centered mainly in and about Pujang, east of Turphan and Kang Chau and north of the Koknor. Some time after 911 a Uigur cheif, known to the Chinese as Wang Chang Me, sent presents to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent an ambassador to confer on him the the title of Khan, but by the time he arrived the Uigur chief had died and so his younger brother Chang Tigin was made Kagan. In 926 Aturyuk became the Khan. The following year another chief, Wang Chen Yu, sent presents to the Emperor and the Title of Khan was given to him. He continued to rule till 960 and in 962 his son paid tribute to the Chinese Court.

Describing the land and customs of the Uigurs, Chinese writers have stated that the area in which they lived contained valuable stones, horses, camels with a single hump, deer and diamonds. Cotton, wheat and other food-grains as well as onions were grown there. The Khan lived in a large palace, his queen was known as Devi and the Minister as Meyluk. Those who entered the court were obliged to bare their heads. The women tied their hair in big knots on the top of their head and covered them with bags of red silk, while married women wore felt caps.

In 964 and 65 the Uigurs sent ambassador to the Chinese Court. Also they sent presents consisting of precious stones, amber, deer and ox-tails.

In 977 the Uigur occupied the regions which had once been homeland of the Yuchis, that is to say, the area from Turphan to Kang So Chao. In this same year the Chinese Emperor is reported to have issued instructions for money to be sent to his son-in-law, the Uigur Khan, for the purchase of horses and precious stones.

In 988, a number of Uigur families killed their king and came to settle in the Alashan mountains, but other people of the tribe did not follow them. In 996, the Kagan, Khan Chau, offered his services in the fight against the Tanguts which was then engaging the Chinese Emperor of the Hiya dynasty. But shortly after that the Hiya ruler killed Khan Chau.

In 1001, presents were again sent to the Chinese court by the Uigur Khan — very likely the Bogara Khan — Harun. His emissary stated that Uigur territory extended from the west of Hwang Ho to Sui Sang (the snow mountains east of Issikul), but actually the region was dotted with a number of independent kingdoms. Balashpur (Sujiya) was the capital of the Bogara Khan. In 1004 A. D. and 1007, ambassadors were again sent with presents. In 1007 a Buddhist priest who accompanied the ambassador, requested the Emperor to permit the establishment of a Buddhist monastery in the Chinese Capital, but as the early Soong Emperors did not wish to encourage Buddhism the prayer was not granted.

At this time Mongolia, Manchuria and North-East China, were part of the powerful Khittan empire and it was because of this that China was sometimes called Khitai. According to Khittan writers a Buddhist priest from India was sent in 1001 to the Khittan court by the Uigurs. In 1009 and 1011 also priests were sent to request that a Buddhist temple be built in Shansi. This shows clearly that till the 10th century Buddhism had considerable influence in East Central Asia. Till the 11th century the Uigurs lived a nomadic life but by the 12th century they had settled down and begun to trade with Shansi and the neighbouring regions. The Khittan rulers considered them to be their subjects.

CHAPTER 14

Karluks (739-940).

Karluk means snowman. The Karluks acquired this name because they lived in the snow covered mountains of Altai and Tyanshan. By 766 they had taken possession of the Suyab.

In the latter half of the 8th century the Karluks were dominating the Saptanada. The Karluks called their king Yuvgu and it is to the Karluk ruler that Orkhan refers in his writings when he speaks of the Yuvgu. After the fall of the Turkish Empire the Chinese and the Arabs were beginning to cast covetous eyes on it, but the eastern part of it was under the control of the Uigurs and to the west it was in the hands of the Karluks. In 751 A. D. a fierce battle was fought between the Chinese and the Arabs on the banks of the Tuls river for control of Turkish territory. The Chinese were beaten and so could not bring Central Asia under their control and the Arabs suffered too heavily to enable them to go beyond the Tuls. The Karloks reaped the benefit of the quarrel between the two. Although the Arabs succeeded in driving the Karloks out of the Fargana valley, the Sogdhians continued to dominate the trade of that region. From the very beginning they had established control over the entire silk route west of China and established their colonies along it. The Turks, Uigurs and Karluks, were not such religious fanatics as the Arabs ; so they tolerated people of all faiths in their territories.

The names of most of the Karluk rulers (Yuvgus) are not known, nor they did have much contact with the Chinese. There was rivalry between them and the Arabs, but Arabs generally recognised the local ruler as the King of the Karluks.

Like the Karluk Turks and the Sogdhians lived in Karluk territory. The remnants of the Scythians and the Wusuns had merged completely with the Sogdhians. Among the Turks, Buddhists were the most numerous, but Nestorians and followers of Mani were also to be found in fairly large numbers. Near Issikul lived the Jikiliya nomads among whom were many Christians. Before the advent of Islam, religion and nationality had not become identical among the nomadic tribes of central Asia. There are Muslim writers who claim that the first Karluk Yuvgu to embrace Islam lived during the time of the Caliph Mehdi, 775-85, but this appears doubtful. Certain it is however, that in the 10th century a Jama Musjid existed east of the Tuls river, i. e. in Karluk territory. In the eleventh century the Karluks were the most powerful of the Takuj Aguz tribes. In the tenth century, Baraksan, the capital of the Karluks was seized by the Karakhanias, another branch of the Takuj Aguz.

It has to be kept in mind that in earlier times the Khirgiz had lived in the upper Anesei valley. Khirgiz caravans passed through Kucha every third year carrying silk. The Khirgiz allied themselves with the Karluks against the Karakhania. By the 10th or 11th century, Islam had spread amongst them and their descendents, the modern Kazaks and Khirgiz, continue to be Mussalmans, but Muslim writers mention the existence of "Kafirs" amongst these people right up to the 16th century.

A large number of towns on the trade route from China to west Asia and Europe fell within their territory and were a source of revenue for the Karluks. A few of them are mentioned below :

Close to Pisup was Jul (Turkish for desert), situated at a point where the trade route from Taraz and Asikrit reached Karakul. Nevokrit, 90 miles from Jul, was the largest of the trade centres in the Chi valley. Kriminkrit was an important commercial town between Nevokrit and Darra. It was inhabited by the Lavan clan of the Karluks ruled over by Ku Tegin Lavan. About 70 miles to the south was Yar, where there were three thousand soldiers. Thirty miles from Yar, on the banks of the Ton river stood the town of Ton. Three days' journey from Ton lay a large town called Baraksan. Between these towns were the tents of the Jikil tribe. The name Baraksan survives even today, in the river called Baraksan. Six thousand soldiers were encamped in Baraksan. Till the 10th century its ruler was a Karluk, but later he went over to the Takuj Aguz. It was an important trading centre linking East and West Turkestan.

Situated at the confluence of the Karakoin and Atwas rivers was the town of Atwas, now known as Koshoi Kurgan. It was a six days' journey from the borders of Fargana, Baraksan and Eastern Turkestan. There was no habitation between Atwas and Baraksan. Suyab, the most important town in Karluk territory, stood at a distance of eighteen miles from Nevokrit. It was ruled by the brother of the Karluk Kagan, who had twenty thousand men under him. Punjikat was three miles from Nevokrit on the road to Suyab. Eight thousand soldiers were stationed there.

Baiklig was ruled over by Vadan Sangu, who had three thousand soldiers as his own bodyguard, apart from seven thousand for the defence of the town.

Another commercial town on the borders of Karluk territory was that of Sikul which was probably known in the time of Timur as Issikul.

CHAPTER 15

THE ARABS (673-808)

The Prophet Mohammed

Even in the 6th century the Arabs were a cultured people. Their cities, Mecca and Medina, were important centres of trade and pilgrimage. Their shrine at Kaba, where the object of worship was not an idol but the "black stone" which was part of a meteorite that had fallen from the sky in the remote past, was famous throughout the East. Its fame had spread even as far as India, where the idol was believed to represent the God Shiva. Thousands of pilgrims gathered at Kaba every year.

Mohammed was born in a Hashemite family. His father, grand-father and great-grandfather, were Abdulla, Motalleb and Hashem, respectively. Hashem's father was called Abdul Manat (i. e. worshipper of Manat), which clearly shows that the ancestors of Mohammed had been idol worshippers no more than five generations before the birth of Mohammed. Hashem's brother, Abdul Shams, belonged to the Kurish family, which had a place of honour among the priests of Kaba.

Mohammed was born in 570 A. D. His father died while he was in his mother's womb and he was brought up by his grandfather, Abdul Motalleb. As was the practice in all respectable families of Arabia, he was looked after by a Bedouin nurse. The people who lived in Mecca and Medina were settled town-dwellers, but there were then, as now, many nomadic tribes in Arabia. To live the life of a nomad and to be brought up in a tent was probably considered the best way to develop the spirit of courage and enterprise. Mohammed is said to have remained illiterate all his life. This is difficult to believe, because for years he was in charge of caravans that went to foreign lands carrying merchandise belonging to a wealthy lady of Arabia, Khedija, who later became his wife. The Arabs were mostly idol worshippers at that time, but a large number of Christians and Jews, whose religion forbade idol worship also lived in towns like Mecca and Medina, as well as in other places which Mohammed visited. Coming into contact with Jewish and Christian scholars he lost faith in idol worship.

After his marriage with Khedija he became a wealthy man. When he reached the age of forty he declared himself a prophet. But throughout his life he had a great respect for Christianity and Judaism. His aim was not merely religious. He wanted to unite the scattered Arab tribes and forge them into a powerful force. He felt that, for this, it was necessary to give them a faith that would unite and inspire them as well as remove their weaknesses. Christianity and Judaism could not fulfil this mission and so he became the founder of the new faith of Islam.

The main slogan of Mohammed was directed against idolatry. This naturally met with resistance from the priests of Kaba, who had a vested interest in idol worship. Mohammed was soon able to rally the youth of the Hashem family round him - his nephews Ali and others became his devoted followers. But in spite of the support of his family the threat to his life became serious and in 622, at the age of 52 he was obliged to flee to Medina.

The ancient name of Medina was Yasrib, but after it had become the seat of the prophet Nabi its name was changed to Medinatunnabi (i. e. city of the prophet). The grave of the prophet is also in Medina. Although the idols of Mecca were later destroyed by Mohammed the sacred Black Stone was held in such veneration by the Arabs that not even Mohammed dared touch it and till today it is kissed by the Muslims who go for pilgrimage to Mecca. The last ten years of his stay in Medina were not only important from the point of view of the development of the Islamic faith, but for the political and military prowess of Mohammed that was then revealed and as a result of which, in the course of three-quarters of a century, a vast empire came into being which extended from the banks of the Indus to Spain and from the Sir Darya to the Nile.

New Economic System

Apart from cattle-breeding and pasture, the income from predatory raids was considered a legitimate source of revenue by the nomads of this period. By prohibiting such earnings Mohammed struck a blow not only at an ancient practice but at the root of their economic system. While prohibiting this practice, he introduced a system by which the loot obtained from the conquest of foreign lands was to be distributed in the proportions of one fifth to the state treasury, the balance being divided equally among the victorious soldiers. This was an astute device to give an economic incentive not only to the youth of Arabia but to all who joined the army in a campaign of conquest. The income derived from the fifth share enabled the central administration to meet its expenses, while the equal division of the spoils among the soldiers laid the basis for Islamic brotherhood and equality.

While this new concept furnished a powerful incentive to join the army, the promise of ample rewards in heaven added a life of eternal bliss for those who died in battle. All these imparted a death-defying courage to the soldiers of the Arab armies which created havoc in the world. Although the practice of distributing the spoils of war was adopted by Darius, Alexander and Chandragupta, they did not go as far in this direction as Mohammed. In their case the spoils were not evenly divided among all the soldiers. Moreover, for the first time, Islam made the oppressed people of the conquered territory partners of the spoils. The regimes of those who faced the Arab armies were based on feudal exploitation and slavery and although the Arabs did not make any basic alteration in that structure, they spread the message of equality and brotherhood. The simplicity of Arab tribal life impressed the common people of the land they conquered so much that the Arabs came to be looked upon as their liberators. They thus acted as a progressive force replacing the old philosophy by a new one. It is true that the new forms did not preclude the practice of slavery, but slavery was common at that time throughout the civilised world.

The Early Caliphs

While Mohammed had been no more than a religious reformer in Mecca, in Medina he had to play the combined role of military commander, political leader and Economic administrator. By the time he died in 632, most of the Arab tribes had accepted Islam.

Mohammed was not particularly opposed to the monarchical form of Government. The fame of the Iranian and Roman Emperors had reached his ears and during his travels as a trader he had visited these countries. He therefore invited them to accept Islam and propagate it in their empires.

In Arabia, simplicity and democracy were so much a part of the tribal administration that Mohammed himself could not but be affected by them and even after he had become the ruler of Western Arabia he continued to lead a simple life. Mohammed's contribution to the development of Arabia was the unification of all the scattered Arab-speaking tribes engaged in internecine strife into one homogenous wellknit whole, but when the Arab Empire had spread from the Indus to Spain it was obviously not possible to introduce a tribal form of Government over peoples speaking different tongues and living under a politically advanced administrative system.

After the death of the Prophet, quarrels broke out amongst his followers. The Hashemites considered it to be their prerogative to be his successors or Caliphs, but the Hashemites were not the only ones among his important followers. Of the four Caliphs who came after Mohammed and who to some extent maintained the democratic tribal form of administration the first was Abu Bakar - a non-Hashemite.

Abu Bakar (632-642)

He was the father of one of Mohammed's wives and was already very old when he was selected by the Mussulmans to be their Caliph. It was during his reign that the Arab general, Khalid, defeated the Roman army and seized Damascus and it was thus that the Arabs for the first time gained an opportunity of ruling over a part of an empire that had advanced under the Romans. It was from this time that luxury began to replace Arab simplicity. During the time of Abu Bakar, not only Syria but Palestine came under Arab administration. In 639 there was a clash between the Arab and Iranian forces. The Iranians were defeated and their ruler Yazdgard III fled, just as a thousand years earlier Darius III had fled being pursued by the armies of Alexander. He first went to Sistan, then to Khurasan and later to Merv. In Merv the Turkish Khan himself came forward to arrest the Iranian king out of fear of the Arabs. Yazdgard tried to hide in a water mill but the millowner seized the jewels on his person, killed him and threw his corpse into the running stream. At this time the people of Merv were not Turks but Iranians, and, coming to know of the treachery of the millowner, they tore him to pieces.

As a result of frequent clashes with the Arabs the strength of the Iranians was declining, so ultimately they were no match for the fierce Arab armies. Such downfall was the inevitable result of their political system. In Iran, as in India, a handful of priests and feudal Lords were supreme, while everyone else was looked upon as an outcast. The consequence was that the oppressed peoples of the land were attracted by the equality and brotherhood as preached by Islam. Thus the highly-civilised but effete Iranians succumbed to the Arabs whom they had hitherto looked down as being uncivilised.

Omar (642-644)

Omar was the second Caliph of the Mussulmans. He too was Mohammed's father-in-law. He had contributed much towards spreading the Islamic faith and Arab rule. So he was chosen to become Caliph in preference to Ali the nephew and son-in-law of Mohammed. By this time Islam had grown from a religious sect into a powerful, all-conquering military organisation. Among the earlier Arabs the death of a single person had served to kindle an enmity that kept the fire of internal strife smouldering for centuries. This lust of the Arabs for blood was canalised by Islam into a new direction—to the conquest and plunder of wealthy foreign countries. In their capital city of Medina, slaves from Iran, Turkey and Rome, were to be seen in large numbers. Some of these slaves became converts to Islam, but even then they were not given equal rights with the Arabs, for the latter were not willing to free their slaves so easily. Most of the slaves were culturally far superior to their masters, but they had to endure the cruelty and insult of their masters in silence.

Many stories are told of the simple life and sense of justice of Omar during the two years of his caliphate, but the justice that was meted out was only for the Arabs and not for outsiders or even the Mussulmans of the conquered territories. The injustice against the conquered peoples resulted the murder of Omar Caliph by an Iranian slave. This had serious repurcussions among the Arabs. Though they obviously could not kill the entire Iranian race, they resolved to wipe out the Zorastrian religion from Iran and in this they were to a large extent successful.

Osman (644-652)

To avenge the murder of Omar, the new Caliph Osman announced that the general who should succeed in marching into Khurasan would be awarded with the governorship of the province.

Mvavia, the chief of the Umeyya family, was appointed administrator of Syria, which was ruled according to Roman Law. Mvavia realised that it was not possible to impose the tribal system of administration there and he also had sufficient intelligence to understand that the Syrians could not be turned into Bedouins. He therefore contented himself with securing their allegiance to the Arab Caliph and the Islamic faith. But those who had been accustomed to the simplicity of early Islam as established by the Prophet did not like the feudal trappings of Mvavia. Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet in particular, was not willing to tolerate this state of affairs and so enmity flared up between him and Mvavia.

In 639, the Iranians were defeated in the battle of Nahabund, but they could not be completely subdued. During the rule of Osman not only Khurasan, but the entire Turkish Kingdom was attacked by the Arabs. Osman himself amassed a vast fortune, with the result that discontent began to grow among the Arabs and he was ultimately murdered.

Ali (652-661)

After waiting long for twenty-four years Ali became the Caliph. According to the Shiyas he was the only legitimate one to succeed as Caliph. Ali was a great favourite of the prophet who, having no son of his own, loved him very much. His period as Caliph was spent in continuous strife with Mvavia, who also belonged to a powerful Arab family. As a result of Mvavia's conspiracy, Hasan, elder son of Ali, was poisoned by his own wife, while his younger son, Hussain, died of thirst in the deserts of Karbala.

Hussain and Hasan, as the grandsons of the Prophet Mohammed, were looked upon with great respect by the people of Arabia. That is why their death is mourned by Mussulmans during the "Moharram" days every year.

Ali lost his life in one of his many battles, but it is not clear where he died. There are many places which claim the honour of having seen the last of him. In Khurasan there is a place called Turbate Haidri, which is claimed to be the site of his grave. In Afghanistan there is a Mazhar Sharif, which is also held in veneration as his burial place. In the Khyber Pass, there is an Ali Musjid, where he is reported to have prayed for the last time befere he fell in the battle against the infidels. By the time of his death, Arab rule had firmly established itself in Central Asia.

CHAPTER 16

THE UMEYYA DYNASTY (661-749)

Ali was succeeded by the follwing thirteen Caliphs of the Umeyya dynasty :

(i) Mvavia I, 661-680. (ii) Yazdi I 680-683. (iii) Mvavia II, 683 (iv) Abdul Malik, 683-705. (v) Valid I, 705-714. (vi) Sulaiman, 714-717. (vii) Omar II, 717-720. (viii) Yazdi II 720-723. (xi) Hisham, 723-742. (x) Valid II, 742. (xi) Yazdi III. (xii) Ibrahim. (xiii) Mervan II, 749.

Until the time of Mervan Mvavia I, the Arabs had not been able to consolidate their hold over Eastern Iran. In 662, Abdulla, the son of Emir succeeded in conquering Khurasan and was made Governor of that province.

After the conquest of Iran, the Arabs seized Khurasan, Balakh and Merv, but the Governors were frequently changed because the successes were short-lived. During the reign of Mvavia, a number of Governors were sent to Central Asia. They were Abdulla, the conqueror of Khurasan ; Kais, the son of Hasan ; Abdulla son of Khazim ; Ziad who was Governor for two years and considered by the Caliph to be his brother ; Hakim, who after becoming Governor of Khurasan, attacked Tukharistan and brought under his sway the area south-west of Balakh up to the Hindu Kush. He was the first general to have been able to cross the Vakhshu, although he was not able to retain his hold over that region. He died in Merv and until the next Governor was appointed, Khulaid administered the area.

In 670, Rabi, the son of Ziad, became the new Governor. As a result of years of Arab rule many Arab families had settled in Khurasan and thus recruits for the army were always ready to hand. Arab soldiers preferred the comforts of the newly-conquered regions to the stern life of the Arabian deserts. Rabi fought against the Turks as well and raided the areas across the Vakhshu. In 673, Rabi and his lieutenant died. In the Eastern Provinces the lieutenant governors appointed by the Caliph elected the Governor. Abdulla, the son of Rabi, was able to govern for no more than two years. His son, Khulaid Hanfi, made his son in his turn the lieutenant governor of Pupha, Balakh and Khurasan, but Abdulla deposed Khulaid and proclaimed himself the governor. Before saying anything more about him we shall give a few facts regarding the influence of Islam over the people of the conquered territories.

While the Arabs used the sword to destroy the might of the enemy, Islam was their weapon to unite the vanquished and victors. It was natural for the oppressed and downtrodden classes of Iran to be attracted towards Islam because the Iranian religion, like that of the Hindus, practised untouchability. Although the Arabs did not accord exactly the same treatment to non-Arab as to the Arab Muslims, the status of the conquered Muslim was far above than that of the non-Muslims of the highest caste among the conquered people.

During the period of the Arab conquests the peasants or landholders were the masters of the village and it was from them that the king's bodyguards were recruited. The official religion of the Iranian people was Zorastrianism but in Khurasan and other far-off towns there was no official religion and Buddhists, Nestorians and Jews were all to be found in them. The followers of Mazd, who had been expelled from the Zorastrian fold, also took shelter in the outlying provinces where the influence of the official religion was not so strong.

Owing to the trade with China, many wealthy merchants lived in the commercial cities of central Asia. They were not just ordinary merchants, but owners of vast estates and fortified castles.

Although Sogdhia, Fargana and Tukharistan, were peopled by settlers and not by nomads, they valued courage very highly because they had to face the constant incursions of the barbarian nomads from the North. In Samarkand, there was a custom amongst them of keeping food and wine on a pedestal, and he who ate the food and drank the wine was considered to have offered a challenge to all adversaries. The winner in the contest that ensued was declared the champion for the year. An Arab historian writing in 539 stated, "In arts and craft the Chinese are foremost, in philosophy the Greeks, in administration the Sasanis and in battle the Turks."

Like the Rajputs of our country the rulers and chieftains of Central Asia, whether Turk or non-Turk, cared little for death. War was for them a sport. But owing to quarrels among themselves they often sided with the Arabs against one another. The Caliph Omar had made it a rule not to allow non-Muslims to wield arms because he could not trust them. The Arabs were never content with political conquest, but always tried to impose their religion on the conquered peoples. The Hephtals, Scythians and Greeks who had come into Central Asia at an earlier time had tried to compromise with existing religious practices and to absorb the local Deities into their own religion. But the Arabs had united under the banner of Islam and their campaign of conquest took on the character of a religious war, so that it was religious fanaticism that gave courage to their soldiers.

Hence there was no question in their case of any compromise with existing religions.

But Omar's behests that "infidels" should not be permitted to hold arms under them were not heeded to in the time of the Caliph Umeyya and his governor Kutaib.

The Arabs preferred to raid and plunder a country repeatedly rather than to establish permanent control over it. Khurasan and Balakh were their main centres of operation.

The historian Tabri narrates that the rulers of numerous small kingdoms of Central Asia, would, whenever threatened by Arab raids, unite and pledge themselves to fight together against the common enemy. But unfortunately the pledge was constantly being broken. Naturally it was not possible for them to stand up to the Arabs single-handed.

Ubaidulla had collected a large army in Iraq (Mesopotamia). Crossing the Vakhshu, he reached the mountains of Bokhara and leading the assault in person on the back of a camel, he raided Ramtin and Baikund. The Princess of Bokhara, not daring to face the Arabs, fled to Samarkand, leaving behind in her haste a sandal valued at two lakh dirhams (1 dirhams—25 grs. of silver) and ultimately the Princess was forced to agree to pay an annual tribute to the Arabs. The Caliph rewarded Ubaidulla by making him the governor of Basra, but he died soon after.

Syed, the son of Osman, who became the next governor, raided Bokhara in violation of a treaty which he had singned earlier. The Princess had spent all her wealth in the struggle against Ubaidulla and she now had to hand over the city to the Arabs. Samarkand continued however to remain independent. It was a city that had been established by many wealthy nobles and as a pledge of good behaviour eighty nobles were sent as hostages to Syed, but even he did not spare Samarkand and in the end that city too fell into his hands together with thirty thousand slaves and untold wealth. The Queen of Samarkand asked for the return of the eighty nobles who were handed over to him as hostages and he promised to send them back across the river, but the nobles were shorn of their insignia and turned into common slaves. Preferring death to this life of ignominy, these eighty slaves slew the treacherous Syed and committed sucide.

After the murder of Syed, Salim, the son of Ziad, was made Governor of Khurasan. At this time a revolt had started in Sogdhia. After the treachery of Syed no one trusted the Arabs. Salim felt it necessary to crush the revolt and, making Merv his headquarters, he crossed the Amu Darya with 6000 soldiers and attacked Bokhara. The Queen of Bokhara offered to marry the Gorak, the Governor of Tarkhan, in return for his help.

Gorak arrived with a large force and wiped out most of the advance guard of the Arab army, but in the clash with the main Arab forces the Turks suffered a severe defeat. Enormous wealth came into the hands of Salim and every Arab soldier received a large sum as prize money. He spared the Queen of Bokhara and in the two years of his rule he became extremely popular among the local converts. It is reported that some 2000 children born during his governorship were named after him.

Caliph Mvavia II

He lacked the abilities of a ruler and soon handed over the Caliphate to his successor, Abdul Malik. But a quarrel between the latter and Abdulla, the son of Zuber, resulted in the division of the Islamic Empire into two parts. Syria and Egypt were taken over by Abdul Malik, with Damascus as the capital, while Yemen and Palestine were seized by Abdulla.

Mohammed, who was one of the rivals of Caliph Abdul Malik, had proclaimed himself Caliph in Mecca and Medina. The Byzantine Empire of Rome was still fairly powerful, although Syria and Palestine had already passed into the hands of the Arabs. The Arab Caliph would have liked to seize Byzantium as he had done in the case of Arabia, but he realised that he could not fight simultaneously on two fronts. He, therefore, first turned his attention to his rival Mohammed and drove him out.

Under the Caliphate of Abdul Malik, the Arabs were able to make considerable progress in Central Asia. Abdulla, the son of Ziad, had supported Abdul Malik's rival in the struggle for the Caliphate, so Abdul Malik replaced him by Bukair. Later, finding that he could not trust Bukair either, he made Umeyya the Governor. The army commander Motalleb was however, a supporter of Abdulla and he sent his son Habib to attack Bokhara as the head of a large army. Habib succeeded in defeating the King of Bokhara, but two years later Motalleb died and his son Hajid became the Governor of Merv.

In 711, the Arab commander Mohammed, son of Kasim, conquered Sindh, the conquest being rendered easy on account of the internal quarrels of its rulers.

Merv was the capital of the southern zone of Central Asia throughout the period of Arab rule, and it became the nerve centre of the Empire. The Governor of Merv was appointed by the Eastern Viceroy of the Caliph, who at this time was Hazzaj, son of Yusuf. It was he who had made Kutaib the Governor of Merv in place of Mufazzal. Kutaib contributed more than any other Arab governor towards the strengthening of the Arab Empire in Central Asia, for earlier governors had contented themselves with loot and plunder or the exacting of tribute. Although the Arabs had been masters of Khurasan for a long time and Merv was the capital of their Governors, their control of the areas across the Vakhshu was only nominal, so that it was Kutaib who was primarily responsible for the unfurling of the flag of Islam between the Sir and Vakhshu rivers.

The Prophet Mohammed put an end to the internal disputes of the Arabs by turning their attention to foreign conquests. As the prize of victory, they were able to secure Iranian, Roman, Sogdhian and Turkish beauties as their slaves or wives, the choicest amongst whom were sent to the Caliph's harem, the next in order to the viceroys and governors. The army commanders also got their share and the remainder went to the soldiers. Thus at the same time as religious fervour, there was considerable material incentive for joining the Islamic fraternity. The wives or concubines acquired in this way had the sacred duty of producing Mussulman sons and those born thus could never go back to their old religion because of the prejudices against them among the local people.

Many Arab families had settled in Khurasan, Merv and Balakh. Thus did Islam spread in Central Asia, and as a result of the legitimate as well as illegitimate intercourse with the captive women the Mussulmans increased much more rapidly in number than they would have done in the normal course of events. Moreover, at this time there prevailed in Iran a system akin to the untouchability of India and this also attracted the lower castes towards Islam.

Gradually the greed for wealth and the life of luxury they were now beginning to enjoy again gave rise to internal strife among the Arabs. At the slightest complaint, commanders and governors were removed from their posts and replaced by others. Abdulla, the son of Khajim, suffered just this fate. Till 692, he had been the unchallenged ruler of Khurasan and had even minted coins in his name, but by the orders of the Caliph Abdul Malik, he was executed. Meanwhlie his son Musa had got safely across the Vakhshu and with a handful of soldiers was able to size Termiz and to drive out the local rulers. For fifteen years thereafter he remained the master of that place. Yezid was then the Governor (701-704).

Sabit joined hands with Musa and after he had succeeded in winning over the local rulers, he ousted the collectors of Yezid and proclaimed himself the master of Antarved (the region between the Vakhshu and Sir). The Turks, Sogdhians and Hephtals, sent a large army against the Muslims, but Musa destroyed it. Later, Sabit quarrelled with Musa and was killed. In 704, however, Osman, the commander of Mofazzal, came to the aid of the rulers of Sogdhia and defeated Musa.

It was at this time that Kutaib became the Governor of Khurasan and immediately set out on his campaign of conquests. After Merv he came to Balakh and drove its ruler to Kashmir. The latter's hope of regaining his kingdom with the help of his co-religionists, the Hindus of Afghanistan and Kashmir, was never fulfilled because Arab rule, based as it was on local support, had become impregnable. A part of India itself came under Arab control. The Tibetans, too, had built up a vast empire from Tyanshan to the Pamirs. Kutaib managed to bring the Queen of Barmak into his harem, and Barmak's brother and the whole of the peasantry welcomed Kutaib and followed him to the banks of the Vakhshu.

Kutaib's fame had preceded him, and none across the borders of the Vakhshu dãred oppose him. The King of Shaganyan eagerly awaited his arrival in the hope of getting his help against his enemies, Shugan and Asrunan and as soon as Kutaib crossed the river the King presented him with the golden key of the town and invited him to the capital Termiz. Kutaib accepted him as the vassal of the Caliph and Asrunan and Shugan were glad to take the same status. After this he returned to Merv and concluded a treaty with Tarkhun Nizak on his own terms.

The next year witnessed another campaign of conquest by Kutaib. From Merv he crossed the Vakhshu and marched towards Bokhara. On the right bank of the Vakhshu stood Baikund, a town of prosperous merchants who had amassed enormous wealth through the silk trade with China. As it was always the target of nomadic raids it had been strongly fortified. Finding the Arabs advancing the inhabitants made active preparations to defend the town and every able-bodied man took up arms. The Sogdhians were also asked to send help. For two months Kutaib besieged the town. The Muslims of Central Asia were the agents of the Arabs and within the town itself were several Muslims who were acting on behalf of Kutaib and sending him information. On being heavily bribed, however, one of his principal agents turned traitor. After beheading this man, Kutaib decided to attack the city and a fierce battle ensued. Thousands of enemy soldiers were killed, but even after the sacrifice of many lives, the Arabs were unable to enter the town. Ultimately, a group of Arab soldiers succeeded in digging a tunnel under the wall and connecting it with the stables inside the town. Kutaib promised a heavy reward to any soldier who would enter the town through the tunnel and the Arab soldiers poured in. Thus the town was taken. The inhabitants prayed for mercy and Kutaib spared their lives.

Leaving one of his armies behind, Kutaib returned to Merv, but immediately after he had left Baikund the townspeople rose in revolt as a protest against the abduction of the daughter of one of their influential merchants. When news of this reached Kutaib he returned with his army and after a month-long seige succeeded in capturing the town once more. The revolt was put down with great cruelty, every able-bodied soldier was killed and the rest were enslaved. The prosperous town of Baikund was reduced to ashes and Kutaib obtained more booty from this single town than from the whole of Khurasan. A gold image weighing 4000 dirham was found in the Buddhist monastery as well as a gold vessel weighing 150,000 miskals (1 miskal 17/23 of a tola). A pair of pearls as large as pigeons' eggs was also seized. Kutaib sent the glad tidings of his victory to his master, Hazzaj, along with valuable presents.

Baikund was an ancient town on the main trade route to China. Travellers journeyed from here to Khwarezm by boat, then by land to the shores of the Caspian Sea, then across the sea to the Kuna river, thus reaching the shores of the Black Sea, from whence they sent precious stones to different parts of Europe. When Kutaib attacked Baikund many of its merchants were away in China and elsewhere, so that on their return they had to pay a heavy price in order to get back their wives and children from the Arabs. They next set about the task of rebuilding Baikund. The Central Asian historian Narshakhi writes : "Baikund was a town which, even after complete destruction, was rebuilt on its old foundation within the course of a generation and regained all its former glory." The inhabitants of Baikund agreed to pay tribute to the Arabs and Kutaib concluded a peace treaty with them. When winter set in he returned to his capital Merv. The first two years of his governorship were mainly spent in organising raids. Although invincible in battle the Arab armies had not yet been able to establish a stable empire. Baikund was the southern gateway of Antarved. A road to Sogdhia went through Termiz, but this road passed through Darband (the iron gate city), which was considered militarily impregnable.

In 706, Kutaib again set out on the campaign of conquest. Although the cities of Anturved were fortified after the experience of the Baikund the people had begun to realise the futility of resisting the Arabs. Namushakt and Ratina agreed to pay tribute, but the rest of the people of Sogdhia were determined to defend their land against the foreign invaders. Kutaib's army was surrounded between Taran, Khunbun and Ramtin. Gorak, the Governor of Sogdhia, Khunuk Khudat, Bardan Khudat and the nephew of the Chinese Emperor, all pounced on Kutaib's army. Becoming aware of the strength of the enemy, the Arab troops were beginning to be panicky when Kutaib plunged into the fray and personally instilled courage into them. This meant that by sundown the "infidel" armies were routed. The victorious Kutaib was returning to Termiz and Balakh when a letter arrived from Hazzaj which besought him to crush the king of Bokhara, Bardan Khudat. Turning back by way of Samarkand, Kesh and Nasaph, he pitched his tent near Bokhara, to the right of Bardan's forces, whereupon the two armies become locked in battle for almost three days, but ultimatly the Arabs were victorious. Kutaib tried to take possession of Bokhara, but failed and was obliged to return to Merv. He sent a report to Hazzaj describing the battle and explaining his position and Hazzaj insisted on it that he should go back and fulfil his mission. "Crush Kesh, destroy Nasaph and drive out Bardan. Be careful lest your armies are surrounded. Leave the rest to me," were the instructions sent by Hazzaj.

In 708, Kutaib again attacked Bokhara. Bardan Khudat besought the help of other Sogdhian kings, but before they could come to his aid, Kutaib had surrounded Bokhara. Describing the battle the historian Tabri writes : "A see-saw battle went on for a while with the Turks pushing the Arabs at one time and the Arabs driving back the Turks at another. The Arabs were finding it difficult to occupy one hillock. Kutaib called upon the famous Tamin tribe to recall their glorious tradition and to launch the attack. Their chief led the assault personally, flag in hand. The Turks were defeated in the battle. This defeat spread panic among the neighbouring kingdoms. Gorak of Sogdhia agreed to pay tribute to Kutaib. Tarkhun of Sogdhia too concluded a peace treaty paying a price of 2000 dirhams. In return Kutaib agreed not to ravage Samarkand again. The nephew of the Chinese Emperor also followed the example of Turkhun."

The Last Bid for Freedom

In 709, Kutaib set out on his victory march again. This time he took with him Nizak, the king of the Badgis, and a minister of the king of Tukharistan. Nizak was hoping that Kutaib would be defeated by the Turks, but seeing that the strength of the Arabs was growing day by day, he decided to make a bid for freedom before it was too late. Taking leave of Kutaib on some excuse, he went to Tukharistan and raised the banner of revolt. He sent for help to Afghanistan, promising to give all his treasure in exchange. He invited the Kings of Balakh, Mervrud, Talikhan and Phariyab to join him in the holy war and Kutaib's representatives were driven out from Turkharistan. When news of the revolt reached Kutaib his army had already been sent into its winter quarters.

The fierce battle of Tukharistan began in the autumn of 709. For a long time the people of Turkharistan had been struggling against the Arabs whom they felt could not be trusted, since they made and broke treaties without compunction. They outdid the northern nomads in cruelty, while loot and plunder, accompanied by the abduction of girls on a mass scale, was their speciality. Moreover, the Arabs also made it a rule to destroy temples and places of worship, which hurt the religious sentiments of the people, among whom were Buddhists, Zorastrians and Christians.

It became necessary for Kutaib to crush the revolt, or Arab rule sould be wiped out of Central Asia. He sent his brother Abdurrahman to Balakh and called up troops from the towns of Atawad, Akharsheher, Surakhsh and Hirat. Collecting his forces in Merv, he first of all defeated the ruler of Mervrud. The Turks also lost the battle of Talikan and those who survived it were slaughtered by the Arabs. As Kutaib advanced, Pharab and Jazzan quietly surrendered, but as he did not trust the local rulers Kutaib appointed Arab officers to govern these places.

Soon after this Kutaib entered the hills of Khulm. Nizak had encamped meanwhile in Baglan. Advancing like a hurricane, Kutaib came right up to the doors of Nizak's impregnable fortress and the rulers of Rub and Saminjan revealed the secret passage leading to the fort in return for their lives. The Turks were, therefore, outmanoeuvred and suffered heavy loss.

Nizak managed to flee across the desert to Kerj, the passage to which was so narrow that not even a horse could get through it. Kutaib beseiged the place, but being unable to take it by assault, sent Sulaiman to Nizak to persuade him to surrender. Having exhausted all his stock of food, Nizak agreed to go to Kutaib on condition that his life would be spared. Kutaib made him prisoner and informed Hazzaj, but after an interval of forty days the reply was received that Nizak should be put to death. As Kutaib had promised to spare his life, he was in a quandary, but in the end he killed Nizak and his followers and sent Nizak's head to Hazzaj. Examples of treachery such as this, and betrayal combined with lust for blood had made the Arabs conspicuous throughout Central Asia.

Nizak had left his sovereign, the ruler of Tukharistan, bound with golden chains. Kutaib freed him and sent him to Damascus. When Kutaib returned, the ruler of Juzjan also accepted his suzerainty. The Juzjan ruler sent many of the members of his family as hostages and he himself went to Merv. Kutaib signed a treaty with him, but while he was returning he had him poisoned. This roused the indignation of the people and they killed Kutaib's representative, Habib. Kutaib retaliated by killing all the hostages. The same year, Kutaib conquered Suman, Kesh and Nakhshab and sent his brother Abdurrahman to subjugate Tarkhun of Sogdhia. The latter proved a coward and ultimately committed suicide.

Hazzaj now dreamed of adding China to his Empire and declared that any Ara b commander who could conquer it would be rewarded with the governorship of the country. Kutaib took this task upon himself. An appeal for help made by Chugan of Khwarezm against his brother Khorzed, who was threatening him, gave Kutaib the opportunity he was looking for and he marched into Hajarasp. Khorzed was defeated and handed over to Chugan. In gratitude Chugan sent lavish presents to Kutaib and sought his help against another rival of his Khamzard. Kutaib sent his brother Abdurrahman against him.

Khamzard was killed and Abdurrahman returned with huge booty and four thousand slaves.

After some time there was another big upheaval in Sogdhia. When Kutaib launched a frontal assault on Samarkand, he met with fierce resistance under the leadership of Ikhshid. The Arabs boasted of a large army, while the Turks were much weaker in the North and the Western Turks were rent with internal quarrels. The Samarkand ruler asked the king of Shash (Taskent) for help and after a number of fierce clashes, in which the Turks fought with great courage, their resources were exhausted and Gorak had to yield. It was agreed that heavy compensation should be paid to Kutaib and a gang of armed Arabs were sent to destroy the idols and desecrate the shrines of the infidels.

In 712, Kutaib started another campaign with an army that included large contingents from Kesh, Nakhsab and Khwarezm. The flag of Islam was now unfurled in the northernmost limits of Central Asia and after half a century of resistance the Central Asians were forced to bow to the inevitable. The Arabs had mixed with the people during this period and married the local women freely, so that they were no longer the pure Arabs of old. The mosques erected by Kutaib still stand in Bokhara and Samarkand. A large number of Arabs had settled in Bokhara and they were not only a bastion of the Arab Empire, but helped to spread the message of Islam. In 713, Kutaib's sovereign Hajjaj died as in the following year did the Caliph Valid, who had been the first Muslim ruler of Sindh.

Valid's brother, Sulaiman, became the next Caliph. It had been Valid's wish that his son should be made Caliph. This had also been Kutaib's wish for he hated the Caliph Sulaiman. In 714, Kutaib set out on his last campaign. He crossed the Tyan Shan mountains and after conquering Fargana, attacked Kashgar. By this time the Uigurs had begun to quarrel among themselves and all the Uigur Princes had declared themselves independent of the Kagan. Thus was Kutaib's task rendered easier.

Kutaib's concern, however, was not merely conquest, but the conversion of the conquered peoples to Islam. In order to achieve this objective the most unheard of cruelty was resorted to. The German scholar Lekak has dug up a grave in the deserts of Central Asia where hundreds of Buddhist priests and historians lie buried under the Arab sword. At one time the Arabs had respected the Christians, and Mohammed himself was an admirer of Christianity, but now the Arabs spared no infidel. Thus did Central Asia take to Islam under the threat of Arab sword. Arab soldiers who got the chance of looting those prosperous towns of Central Asia that lay on the silk route were naturally ever ready for battle.

Meanwhile a new situation had been created by the death of Hajjaj, the protector of Kutaib. Sulaiman, the new Caliph, was hostile to Kutaib and had, moreover, as his adviser, Yezid, son of Mohallab, who had been deposed by Kutaib from the Governorship of Khurasan. Realising that his future was not bright, he called an emissary and handed him three letters for the Caliph with instructions to hand them over one after another. The first contained a protestation of loyalty to the Caliph. The second, a declaration of hatred towards Yezid and the third, that he was no longer prepared to recognise Sulaiman as the Caliph and was about to revolt. The emissary was instructed to watch the reaction of the Caliph carefully. If the first letter was handed over by him to Yezid the second was to be delivered and if this too was handed over to Yezid, then, and then only, was the third to be given. The emissary did not find it neccessary to deliver the second and third letters to the Caliph, for the Caliph in fact sent a representative to confer his recognition on Kutaib. But the representative had only proceeded half way when he found that Kutaib had already hoisted the flag of revolt. He, therefore, went back to the Caliph.

Later, Kutaib was to repent his haste. He realised that the Caliph would never again forgive him, so that the most he could hope for, in consideration of his services to Islam, was his bare life. His brother, Abdurrahman, advised him to call his followers together and ask such of them as wished to join the Caliph to do so, placing himself meanwhile at the head of those who remained and declaring his independence. But Kutaib preferred to take the counsel of his second brother, Abdulla. He called all his officers and delivered an impassioned appeal to them to revolt. He recalled his services to Islam and his successes on the field of battle. His officers remained silent. Kutaib thereupon lost his temper, accused them of cowardice and returned to his palace. His enemies knew that the Caliph was against him and they surrounded the palace, set fire to his stables and, remembering that this great general had acquired the reputation of being the cruelest of soldiers, tore him to pieces. Thus ended the life of Kutaib. He was then forty-six.

Islam hardly ever produced as zealous a propagator of the Islamic faith as Kutaib. In every one of his campaigns he forcibly converted the people to Islam but some of them afterwards returned to their old faith. In one of his campaigns he destroyed the temple of fire worship in Samarkand and build a mosque instead, where a prize of two dirhams was offered to anyone who would join the namaz prayer. He placed an Arab in every household to act as an informer, a preacher of Islam and to live as the son-in-law of the family. The English historian Denison Ross writes of him : "His character was an epitome of the qualities which made Islam a terror to mankind and ultimately conspired to reduce it to impotence."

Until, after a few months, Yezid was appointed Governor (715), the leader of the revolt carried on the administration. Yezid's first step was to throw all the associates of Kutaib into prison. The people of Sogdh, tired of Kutaib's repression, had hoped that Yezid would first visit them, but Yezid preferred to set out on a campaign of conquest. In 716, his armies entered Jurjan and Tabaristan. West of the Caspian, forts had been set up to protect the people against the fierce Khazars, whom the people held in such dread that they were paying tribute to them.

Entrusting the care of Khurasan to his son Mukhallad, Yezid continued his campaign. The people of Jurjan fought heroically for the defence of their freedom, religion and culture, but Yezid had taken an oath that he would not sheath his sword until sufficient blood to run a flourmill had been shed, and until he had eaten bread made out of that flour. It is reported that Yezid actually lived up to the pledge he had made. When examples of such cruelty are found in the Governor himself, one can well imagine the extent of that which would have been practised by his underlings. But in the name of the sacred war against the "infidel", all was permitted by Islam.

Caliph Omar II, son-of-Aziz (717-720)

He succeeded Sulaiman as the Caliph. All impartial historians are agreed that he was the most humane and fair of the Caliphs. He paid heed to the complaints of cruelty made by the local Muslims against Yezid, and took note of the fact that the latter had misappropriated a considerable amount of loot for himself. He issued orders that all Muslims, regardless of whether they were of Arab origin or not, should be regarded as equal, and that taxes should not be levied on Muslims. He laid down that the Governor's task was to spread the message of Islam in his province, to build mosques and serais (inns), but not to destroy the existing temples of the local people. Under his orders Yezid was removed and Jurrah, son of Abdulla, was made the Governor of Khurasan, thus fulfilling the desires of the oppressed peoples of Central Asia.

After the death of Omar, Yazdi II son of Abdul Malik, became the Caliph, but troubles, which almost inevitably followed new succession arose now. After the time of Mvavia II, the Caliphate had split into two, the Western part, spreading from Arabia to Spain being ruled by Caliphs of the Abdulla dynasty. Taking advantage of the chaos that followed the death of Omar, Yezid escaped from prison and raised the banner of revolt from Basra, but it was crushed and Yezid executed. Muslama was made the satrap of the whole of Iraq, which included Mesopotamia and Iran.

Syed, son of Abdulla, was appointed governor of Khurasan under the orders of Muslama. A revolt had broken out at this time in Khojend and Fargana, but the ruler of Sogdhia was a loyal vassal of the Arabs and he sought help from Merv to put it down. But the new governor was weak and he vacillated. The Sogdhians, therefore, turned for help to their northern neighbour, the powerful Turkish Kagan Sulu, who eagerly undertook to fight against the hostile Muslims and attacked Samarkand. Before the Arabs could arrive, 3000 Sogdhians had been killed.

During the two years of Yazdi's Caliphate, unrest prevailed throughout the whole of Central Asia. The Khazars and Kipchiaks were attacking the Arabs From the West and the Arab armies were unable to repel them. The independent ruler of Fargana was sheltering the Sogdhians, while the Arab administrator appointed by Kutaib had already been driven away. Meanwhile, dissatisfied with the fact that the revenue from Iraq were decreasing, the Caliph dismissed Muslama and made a false accusation against him of cowardice. Muslama was indeed fighting to the best of his ability near the walls of Samarkand when the Caliph's letter of dismissal reached him.

The new Governor, Syed Harsi, was a much clever man. The rebellious Sogdhians, helped by the Turks had grown quite powerful, but, finding that the new Governor was a very strong man, they decided to flee from Sogdhia and to accept the offer of the ruler of Fargana to provide them with land and shelter. In the end he betrayed them, and handed them over to the Arabs. Syed succeeded in taking Samarkand, advanced towards Khojend (modern Leninabad) and by promising clemency to those who surrendered, persuaded them to submit, but he promptly broke his pledge and massacred them. This story was repeated in every town in Sogdhia, so that duplicity and treachery became the hall-mark of Arab rule in Central Asia. The Sogdhians were brave fighters and if they had only been able to unite among themselves, they could easily have prevented the establishment of Arab rule for they had the backing of the powerful Sulu Kagan.

After the conquest of Sogdhia, Syed besieged Fargana. The ruler of Fargana offered a hundred thousand dirhams and a large number of slaves so that the town might be spared. Finding that the Arabs had become complacent he suddenly launched an attack on them and succeeded in killing a large number of Arab soldiers. The Commander-in-chief of the Arab armies rushed to their aid and the ruler of Fargana and two thousand of his men were slain in the battle. In spite of this success, Syed Harsi was removed from his post and a new Governor appointed. The new general, Muslim Kilabi, who was sent in his place, was repeatedly routed by Sulu Kagan and had to fly for his life to Balakh.

Hisham, the new Caliph (723-742), was the brother of Yazdi. He appointed Khalid, son of Abdulla, satrap over Iraq and his brother Asad was sent at the head of a large army to fight against the Turks. But Asad also proved ineffective against Sulu. He made repeated attempts to reach Sogdhia across the Vakhshu but was repulsed every time. Enraged at this failure, Asad punished his commanders and sent them back to his brother Khalid in chains. Khalid was so thoroughly disgusted with his brother's foolishness, that he replaced him by Asras as commander-in-chief of his Eastern Army.

Asras realised that behind the resistance that was being offered, was not merely the courage born of patriotism, but the hatred that had been aroused among the Turks for the Islamic religion. He, therefore, appointed two Arab and two Iranian preachers to work among the non-Muslims of Samarkand. Moreover presents were offered to those who joined the namaz prayers. At first this policy yielded excellent results, especially as Muslim converts were exempt from paying taxes. But when the entire region had become converted to Islam this policy meant the stoppage of all revenue, which would have led to the bankruptcy of the Arab Empire. Asras, therefore, gave orders that taxes should be levied on all without exception. This kindled a spark of revolt throughout Sogdhia which was fanned into flame by the Turkish Kagan.

By 728, all the towns except Samarkand and Dabusiya, had fallen into the hands of the rebels and it was with great difficulty that the Arabs succeeded in re-establishing control over Bokhara. In 730, Sulu sent a large army to the aid of Sogdhians. Asras was making all arrangements for defence when he, like his predecessor, was recalled and Junaid was appointed Governor in his place.

Junaid, son of Abdurrahman, held the post of Governor of Sindh for several years. From the spoils of victory he had sent a necklace of precious stones as a gift to the Begum of the Caliph Hisham and as a reward he was made the Governor of Khurasan. The Caliph now wanted a similar necklace for himself. Junaid was notorious for his extreme cruelty and famous for his skill in battle. He now threw himself into the task of subjugating Central Asia with enthusiasm, but narrowly escaped arrest at the hands of Sulu on his way to Bokhara.

The first clash between the two armies took place in 730-31. In it the Turks were defeated and suffered a loss of over a hundred thousand men, while Sulu's nephew was taken prisoner and sent to the Caliph. Junaid himself spent the winter in Merv and next year divided his forces into three parts and crossed the Vakhshu. One part of his army was sent to Samarkand under the command of Saura Hurri, the other to Tukharistan. He himself was proceeding to Tukharistan with the rest of his troops when news reached him that Saura Hurri was in danger in Samarkand. Collecting his men he made a dash for Samarkand, but was trapped in a narrow passage by the

Turks and his entire army was wiped out. He meanwhile managed to save his life by hiding in a ditch.

Saura was now surrounded in Samarkand and Junaid was also threatened. Saura received instructions to leave Samarkand, but the Turks were lying in wait to pounce on him and he was killed along with the greater part of his force. Junaid, although waylaid by Sulu, managed to escape, and reached Samarkand by offering freedom to the slaves. When the Caliph heard of this disaster he sent an army of 25,000 men, collected from Basra and Kupha, to their rescue, but it was only after a struggle lasting for two years, that the Arabs were able to regain control of Sogdhia. Meanwhile, the whole of Antarved had freed itself from their hands. The Jarphasan valley, the main granary of Central Asia, was now in the hands of the Turks. It was probably this that explains the famine of 735, as it appears that the "infidels" did not allow any grain to reach Merv.

The Shiya Movement

The conflict between the Hashim family and other chief families of Arabia was responsible for the death of Hasan and Husain. Those Arabs that did not support the Umeyya dynasty gradually began to side with the rebels. But even amongst the supporters of the Hashim family there were differences. Some of them recognised Ali as the real heir of Mohammed, and some others considered the children of Mohammed's uncle Abbas to be the legitimate successors. The differences did not come to the fore as long as the Shiya movement was weak, but it gradually grew so strong that the Umeyya dynasty practically disappeared and the successors of Abbas began to control the whole of the eastern part of the Caliphate. In Khurasan, the Shiya movement started from the time of Junaid. In 740, Haris unfurled his black flag with the slogan: "The Book of Allah and the precepts of the Prophet." He pledged himself to set at nought all agreements made with the enemies of Islam and their followers, to see that no taxes were levied on Muslims and that there was no repression against the people. Junaid attacked the preachers of the Shiya faith, but in doing so he made many enemies for himself. The Caliph decided to dismiss him and appoint Asim, the son of Abdulla, in his place. Junaid died before Asim could take up his post.

Asim, son of Abdulla (734-36), who succeeded Junaid, was an extremely cruel ruler. He earned the hostility of most of his officers and Haris revolted against him. Babel, Mervrud Province, Balakh, Abwab and other towns of Khurasan fell into the hands of the rebels. The black flag of revolt unfurled by Haris continued to advance and Asim was powerless against him. In due course, Asim was dismissed and Kasri again became the Governor of Khurasan. Asim's request to Caliph Hisham to be lenient was one of the reasons for his dismissal.

Asad Kasri, son of Abdulla, who became the next Governor (735-738), drove Haris away from his kingdom, whereupon the latter joined hands with Sulu Khan who as a token of friendship gave him an estate in Pharab. It was difficult to suppress the revolt in Sogdhia from Merv, because the route between them lay either through a desert which was next to impossible for a large army to negotiate, or followed a very circuitous path to Balakh, which was so long as to be highly impracticable for an armed assault. Asad, therefore, made Balakh his temporary capital and tried to seize Khattal. But Sulu was alert and he raided Asad's palace and looted his harem. Failing to reach any settlement, Asad was forced to retreat to Balakh, while Sulu went towards the mountains of Tukharistan. This was the last of Sulu's victories. For thirty years, this courageous ruler had been making a mark in Central Asia. Even the Chinese Emperor had tried to win him over to his side by sending him a Chinese Princess as a bride. Now, however, he was growing old and had lost the use of one of his arms. Though he had not succeeded in his first attempt to take Khattal, he now began to meet with more success. He forced Samarkand to surrender and built a dam across the Jarphasan.

In 737, a momentous battle took place in Tukharistan. Haris, the Shiya leader, sided with Sulu, but Shagan Khudat was allied to the Arabs. Sulu Kagan was killed in the battle by a Turgis Prince and with his death the Western Turkish Empire began to fall asunder. Haris fled for safety into Turkish territory and Khattal fell into the hands of the Arabs but, just as Asad was advancing for the assault on Samarkand he was killed by a Sogdhian.

Nasr (735 A.D.) had taken part in Kutaib's campaigns. He was an old and experienced man. In 705 he had been given an estate by Kutaib. By this time the Arabs had split into two—the Mujars of North Arabia and the Menenites of Yemen. Nasr was the chief of the Mujars of Khurasan. He was an extremly capable and powerful ruler, and at the same time liberal and popular with his subjects. For nine years he preserved Khurasan for the Umeyya, but the Umeyya rulers had been growing weaker while their Shiya rivals were gathering strength and spreading their influence over the whole of Central Asia and Khurasan.

Nasr realised that the main danger threatened from the Turks. Although Sulu Kagan had been murdered by the Turgis prince, Kursul, the latter himself belonged to a Turkish dynasty, and, given the opportunity, would have grown as powerful as Sulu, especially as the people of Central Asia were all hostile to the Arabs. Nasr therefore turned his attention to the Turks.

Since the death of their last Khan, the Western Turks had been in a state of confusion and in 739, Nasr entered into agreement with the rulers of Ausrushana, Shash and Fargana, thus winning them away from Kursul. After this, he launched a series of attacks on Kursul. Although unsuccessful in the beginning, he ultimately managed to defeat Kursul in the battle of Sir Darya and the latter was taken prisoner and executed. This spread terror among the rulers of Ausrushana, Shash and Fargana, who immediately agreed to accept the overlordship of the Arabs.

Having thus secured his northern frontiers, Nasr's next attempt was that of uniting all Muslims in a crusade against the "infidels." As enjoined by the Muslim scriptures, he exempted Muslims from payment of taxes and levied them instead on the infidels. Later, he exempted a large number of non-Muslims and levied taxes on the Sogdhian Muslims. Those Sogdhians who had fled for shelter to the Turks because of the oppression of the Arabs, were impressed by the fairness and honesty of Nasr and began to return to Sogdhia. Nasr accepted all their terms and concluded an agreement with them which was ratified by the Caliph. There were many in the capital who were critical of this policy, but Nasr defended himself, saying : 'If these critics had seen the tenacity and ferocity of the Sogdhians they too would have agreed to the terms.'

During the first four years of his reign Nasr appointed only Mujair as commanders, but later he gave a number of posts to the Yemenites. The latter, however, requited this trust in 744 by joining a revolt led by Zudeh, the son of Ali.

Haris, a supporter of the Shiya movement, who had joined the Turks, was Nasr's greatest enemy. But true to his policy of liberalism, Nasr pleaded with the Caliph that his life be spared, and in 745 Haris returned to Merv. At first, Haris declared that he was on the side of justice, but when he had gathered sufficient strength he again organised a rebellion. Although he himself died in 745, his rebellion could not be suppressed because he represented a cause.

The precepts of the Prophet Mohammed were very simple and were in accordance with the needs of social development in the Arabia of those days. But as the influence of the Greek, Roman and Iranian culture began to be felt differences appeared among the Muslims. The original precepts of Islam had been as follows : firstly the belief in one God who dwelt in the seventh heaven ; secondly, the idea of the world as a creation of God ; thirdly, the concept of man created from mud and of angels created out of fire, as the foremost beings in creation ; fourthly, the belief that certain angels had revolted against God and became his eternal enemies, and of these the Chief was Ablis, who was known as Azazil before his fall ; fifthly, the belief that man is born but once on earth, and after death spends the rest of eternity either in Heaven or in Hell according to the nature of his life on earth : sixthly, the concept of heaven as a land of beautiful places, where wine and honey flow in plenty and where beautiful damsels and young servants are ever present. Apart from mercy, truthfulness, honesty and other virtues, regular Namaz (prayers), fasting and charity towards the poor, were listed among the good deeds that men should perform, while idol worship and the taking of strong drinks and forbidden meat were considered as sins.

As a result of differences among the Sunnis they split later into four sects, namely :

(i) Hunfis, or followers of Abu Hanfi of Mesopotamia. They are mainly to be found today in India and Pakistan ;

(ii) The Maliks, or followers of Imam Malik of Medina, who preached that along with the Koran, the words of the Prophet were to be considered a part of Islamic doctrine ;

(iii) the followers of Imami Shafi, the Shafis, who believed that the example of the Prophet was the most important part of the Muslim religion, and ;

(iv) the Humbilis, or followers of Imam Ahmad Ibn Hambal, who believed in a personal God. They considered that in order to arrive at the truth, apart from the Koran or the precepts of the Prophet, the voice of the people should also be a guide.

It was on the strength of a majority decision that Ali was thrice deprived of the Caliphate, but as time went on the followers of Ali grew in numbers. It was the third Caliph, Osman, who published the Koran in the form of a book. The followers of Ali are of the opinion that at the time of the publication of the "Book", certain passages favourable to Ali were deleted. Once a sect had taken up the stand that the Koran itself had been tampered with, the way was open for the cropping up of differences about the basic teachings of Islam. Ibn Saba is said to have been the fiirst to give expression to these differences sometime in the seventh century, about fifty years after the death of Mohammed. He had been a Jew, who was later converted to Islam.

When the Jews had been forced to leave their homelands in Palestine, they spread abroad and came into contact with the Greeks and other advanced peoples. Ibn Saba was probably influenced by the Monism of the neo-Platonists and that is why he preached the concept of the oneness of God and Being. He was devoted to Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and it is generally believed that he was under his influence. The tradition of Ibn Saba continued and sects such as the Shiya and Kharji came into being. The traditional hostility between Iranians and Arabs was utilised by the Shiyas to their advantage, with the result that the Shiya sect gradually became the officially recognised religion of Iran. Abu Muslim, in unfurling the Black Flag of the Shiya sect, effected a merger of Iranian nationalism and the Shiya religion, but later on the leadership of the sect was taken over by Abul Abbas Saffah.

Abu Muslim (d. 755). of Ispahan, went to Mecca with a party of Muslims and met Mohammed Abbasi. He began to work in a well-to-do Arab family making saddles for horses. Mohammed Abbasi was much impressed with this twenty-year-old youth and prophesied that he would one day found the Abbasi Kingdom. Mohammed sent him to Iran as his representative because he realised that the Iranians would not be coming to the fore. Abu Muslim spent two years in Khurasan on behalf of his master and proved himself an able organiser and an excellent speaker. As an Iranian he was able to influence his fellow Iranians easily.

Haris had died in the battle against Kirmani. Fearing that Kirmani might prove too ambitious, Nasr fell upon him with his entire army. The flag of the Umeyya dynasty was white, while that of the Shiyas was black. Abu Muslim took advantage of the opportunity and unfurled the black flag. Discontent with the Umeyya dynasty was widespread, and recruits flocked to his banner. Nasr was powerless against this upsurge and sought the help of the Satrap of Iraq, but failed to get any response. Muslim tried to win Kirmani over to his side, but Nasr caused him to be assassinated and sent his head to the Caliph, whereupon Kirmani's sons joined Muslim.

Nasr tried in vain to rouse the Umeyya dynasty. In 747, Abu Muslim marched at the head of his victorious army to Khurasan and Sogdh, and gave orders that the Namaz be read in the name of the Abbasi Caliph in place of the Umeyya Caliph. Nasr fled to Neshapor, but was pursued by Muslim's armies commanded by Kahatba and blows after blows was dealt against him with the result that in 748, he died.

The death of Nasr put an end to all the hopes of the Umeyya dynasty. One after another, Jurgan, Tehran, Sav and other places fell to the Abbasis. In 749, Kahatba inflicted a decisive defeat on the armies of the Caliph and seized the stronghold of Nahabund. After the conquest of Iran, Kahatba advanced towards Iraq. A fierce battle was fought near Karbala in which Kahatba was killed. But his son, Hasan, took the command of the army and defeated Huvaira the Umeyya general. The Yemenites of the Kupha revolted and handed over the town to the Abbasis. Kupha now became the temporary capital of the Abbasis. The final decision was reached in 750 in the battle of Mesopotamia, where Merwan fought with his entire army against the Abbasi commander Abdulla and was completely routed. He fled to Egypt, where he was ultimately killed.

The main lieutenants of Abu Muslim were Abu Daud and Ziad. Abu Muslim realised that he could not feel secure as long as the Yemenites had not been crushed, and on reaching Khattal, Abu Daud slew the Yemenite leaders, Osman and Ali.

After suppressing the Arabs, Muslim saw that the Iranians were beginning to grow strong. Many of them led by Bih Afrid were trying their best to revive the Zorastrianism the original national faith of the Iranians. Afrid made a serious attempt to reform the Zorastrian religion too, lashing out against idol worship in particular. Abu Muslim realised the danger that threatened him. Zorastrian priests also complained that Afrid was striking at the roots of both religions. Abu Muslim therefore put down the new movement with a firm hand.

Just at this time, Sharik Mehri started a new Arab organisation in Bokhara (755). Sharik Ali proclaimed that they had not become the followers of Mohammed to kill one another and to aggravate racial hatred. Sharik Ali was opposed to Abul Abbas and the Arabs preferred to follow Sharik, rather than fall a prey to the cruel Abu Muslim. Within a short time, 30,000 Arabs had rallied round Ali. The Arab Mujars, as well as the common citizens of Bokhara and Khwarezm, also sided with him. Sharik Ali had proclaimed "Equality" as one of his slogans. This, however, roused the hostility of a large number of wealthy nobles who sided with Ziad, the commander of Abu Muslims army, which was sent against the Arabs.

The revolt was crushed with great cruelty by Ziad. Bokhara was burnt to ashes and the rebels hung on the gates of the city. Ziad also marched to Samarkand, where again the rebels were ruthlessly suppressed.

CHAPTER 17

THE ABBASI DYNASTY (749-818)

Caliph Saffah Abul Abbas (750-754)

Mohammed Abbasi had used Abu Muslim as a tool to gain his objectives. Thus, with the help of Abu Muslim, the Hashim family was able to fulfil its age-old ambition, but on the eve of victory Mohammed Abbasi died. His younger son became the Caliph, assuming the name of Saffah (the bloody). It is not known why he chose to take this peculiar name. The Abbasi family had their headquarters in Kupha, while the Umeyya family had theirs in Damascus. Although the Persian language had gradually become extinct in Iraq, it was one of the capitals of Iran until the time of the Akhmani rulers. The Selukans also established one of their capitals there, naming it Selukia. The Parthians also maintained a political centre in this place, as that helped them to operate against their rivals, the Romans. The Abbasis had their capital in Kupha, but it was shifted later to Baghdad.

For three centuries after the Muslim conquest during the period of the Umeyya and Abbasi dynasties, the official and court language of Iran was Arabic and it continued to be so until the pure Iranian dynasties Tahiri (818-832), Saffari (861-900) and Samani (892-896) revived the spirit of Iranian nationalism.

Chart of Caliphs of the Abbasi Dynasty and Contemporaneous Governors of Central Asia

	CALIPH		GOVERNOR	
1.	Saffah	750-754	Abu Muslim	749-755
2.	Mansur	754-775	Abu Daud Khalid	755-757
			Abdul Jabbar	757-58
			Mehdi	758
			Khazim	
			Humaid s. o. Kahatba	769
3.	Mehdi	775-783	Abu Aun	775
			Muaz s. o. Muslim	776
			Musaiyah	779
			Fazal s. o. Sulaiman	782
4.	Hadi	783-786		

	CALIPH		GOVERNOR	
5.	Harun Rashid	786-802	Jafar Ashasi	787
			Abbas Ashasi	788
			Gatrib s. o. Ata	791
			Hamza Khujai	792
			Fazal Barmak	792
			Mansur Himyari	795
			Jafar Barmak	796
			Mamun (Prince)	798
			Ali s. o. Isa	
			Harsma	809
6.	Amin	809-813		
7.	Mamun	813-833	Tahir	
			Nuh (Samani)	
8.	Motsim	833-842		
9.	Vasik	842-847		
10.	Mutvakkal	847-861		
11.	Muntshir	861-862		
12.	Mustin	862-866		
13.	Muhtaj	866-869		
14.	Muhtdi	869-870		
15.	Motmid	870-892		
16.	Mojid	892-902		
17.	Muktafi	902-908		
18.	Mukatdir	908-932		
19.	Kahir	932-934		
20.	Razi	934-940		
21.	Muttaki	940-944		
22.	Mustakfi	944-946		
23.	Mutiya	946-974		
24.	Tai	974-990		
25.	Kadir	991-1031		
26.	Kayum	1031-1075		
27.	Mubtadi	1075-1094		
28.	Mustazahir	1094-1118		
29.	Mustrashid	1118-1130		
30.	Rashid	1135-1136		
31.	Muktafi	1136-1160		
32.	Mustakhid	1160-1170		
33.	Mustji	1170-1180		

CALIPH		GOVERNOR
34. Nashir	1180-1225	
35. Zahir	1225-1226	
36. Mustanshir	1226-1242	
37. Mustasim	1242-1258	

As soon as he was proclaimed Caliph, Abul Abbas gave orders for a general massacre of the Umeyya family. The followers of the Ali family had not forgotten the martyrs of Karbala. The cry went round (Kill ! Kill ! Kill !). In Mecca, Saffah's uncle Daud and in Palestine, Abdulla hunted out and killed all descendants of the Umeyya family. On one occasion, Abdulla made a pretence of declaring an amnesty and invited seventy members of the Umeyya family to a feast. They fell into the trap and actually came and sat down to the meal. At a given signal, Abdulla's men fell upon them and they were murdered on the spot. Not content with killing the living members of the family, the Hashimites ordered the graves of the Umeyya Caliphs to be dug up and their bones crushed and scattered. After the initial victory had been won Syria was attacked and the Umeyya commander Huvair, surrendered in the town of Vasit. In Khurasan too the hunt for individuals even remotely connected with the Umeyya family began, and this led to a series of revolts. The supporters of the Umeyya dynasty approached the Chinese Emperor Swen Chung (713-756) for help but the battles that were fought in Bokhara, Sogdhia and Fargana ended in their defeat at the hands of Ziad. With the establishment of the Abbasi kingdom another Iranian family came to the fore. In Bactria there was a famous Buddhist monastery which had at one time been run by the Buddhist monks, but had later been handed over by one of the rulers of the monastery to his descendants, who came to be known as Parmaks. Later the "P" was changed into "B" as the Arabic script had no "P" sound. The Barmak family was converted to Islam, and for about half a century they were absolute in the vast kingdom of the Abbasi Caliph.

After the disintegration of the Western Turkish Empire, and at about this time, the Nomads succeeded in setting up a powerful kingdom of their own. They were encouraged by the chinese, who did not like to see powerful rivals dominating Fargana and other cities on the silk route from China to the West. In 748, the Chinese forces reached Suyab, and the following year the ruler of Taskent was punished for not paying his feudal levies to the Emperor. Chinese emissaries were sent to summon the ruler of Fargana too but he sought the support of the Arabs. By 751 Ziad defeated the Chinese forces, killing and capturing Chinese soldiers. This was in many respects a historic battle, because it decided whether Central Asia was to remain under Arab or Chinese control. Even after this defeat, the Chinese continued to help those who opposed the Arabs. In the Terim valley the Arabs had come to terms with the Tibetans and as a result the Chinese forces could not concentrate all their strength in the Ili valley. Moreover, the Thang Emperor, Swan Chen was too much engrossed in his life of sensual pleasures to pay attention to Central Asia.

The expeditions against Khattal and Kush by Abu Daud, who had been appointed Governor of Balakh by Abu Muslim proved successful. Khattal Khudat fled to China, the ruler of Kush was killed and replaced by his brother.

The Abbasi Caliphate was founded with the help of Abu Muslim. Vambery writes in his History of Bokhara, "We take our hats off to Abu Muslim for his honesty. Within a surprisingly short period of time he succeeded in winning over all the Turks of Anturved and becoming so popular that to this day among the Uzbeks and Turkmenians legends are current describing the courage and wonderful deeds of Abu Muslim and comparing him to the great Caliph Ali." Complaints against Abu Muslim reached Baghdad and the Caliph was afraid that he might turn against him. In Samarkand, the Governor, Ziad, revolted against him at the instigation of the Caliph, but the outcome was exactly the opposite of what he had expected. Ziad was killed and the following year the Caliph also died. With the help of Abu Muslim Abul Jaffar, the neglected brother, succeeded to the Caliphate. Abu Muslim was so popular that Ziad's army sided with him. Ziad sought shelter in a village, but the peasants handed his head over to Abu Muslim. Nomani too tried to fight Muslim and ultimately paid with his life for his opposition. As for Abu Daud, Governor of Balakh, he went over to Abu Muslim.

Caliph Mansur (754–775)

Saffah had named his elder brother Abu Jaffar as his heir, but his uncle Abdulla was also an aspirant. Abu Muslim defeated Abdulla's Syrian army with his Iranian forces and forced the latter to give up his claim. Although Mansur was indebted to Abu Muslim, he did not want to be a puppet in the hands of anyone. Abu Muslim realised this and tried to return to Khurasan. The Caliph knew that the whole of Khurasan was behind Muslim, so he appointed him Governor of Syria and Egypt and called him for an interview at Maidun. Abu Muslim sent him the following reply ; 'A Sasanian King once stated that for a Minister the most dangerous period was when peace prevailed in the Kingdom....... That is why I do not consider it very wise to be near you just now. But I shall remain a loyal subject. However, if I am not permitted to do so I shall be forced to abandon my loyalty.'

The Caliph wrote back : 'I have understood your letter, but your circumstances are different from those of the evil ministers of the Sasanian rulers. A loyal and obedient minister like you need have no fear, even in times of peace. Although your concluding words leave room for doubt as to whether you fully accept my authority I hope you will return immediately with the messenger who carries this letter to you. May Allah save you from the evil influence of Satan who is trying to draw you into his clutches !'

Abu Muslim sent his final reply in these words ; 'I had a guide in you who came from the family of the prophet himself and from whom I expected to learn the precepts of Allah, but you led me astray and in the name of Allah you taught me to draw the sword and to banish all thoughts of mercy from my heart. I did all I could to make you the master. Now there is no course open for me other than to seek the mercy of Allah for my sins.'

Abu Muslim left for Khurasan. Mansur appointed Abu Daud as Governor and wrote to him that the Khurasanis had only remained loyal to Abu Muslim as long as he fought for the Abbasi dynasty. Now that he had become a rebel he deserved extreme penalty. Abu Daud showed the Caliph's letter to the officers and men of the Khurasani army and they all accepted Abu Daud as their master. Disappointed, Muslim agreed to serve the Caliph and left for Maidun, where he was murdered by assassins engaged by the Caliph. Thus ended the life of the great conqueror who had sacrificed six hundred thousand lives to establish the Abbasi Dynasty. He was then forty-five.

The Caliph now considered himself absolutely secure, but the followers of Abu Muslim soon went against him and began to support the Ali family. A revolt also took place in Khurasan and though it was suppressed, the rebels could not be entirely crushed. The Shiyas of Anturved and Iran soon began to regard Abu Muslim as a martyr and began to wear white clothes and use a white flag. They were accordingly known as the white-robed men.

Abu Daud tried his best to suppress them, but soon after these events he had a fall in the palace-yard which broke his back and as a result he died.

Abdul Jabbar was appointed the next Governor (757-758) and he executed Ansari the Arab Governor of Bokhara who was a supporter of the Shiyas. But this did not stop the revolt from spreading. The Caliph replaced Abdul Jabbar by his heir, Mehdi, who himself joined the rebellion.

Although the Abbasi Caliphs were Arabs, they were closely related by marriage and political ties with the Iranians, and this was why they always chose the Barmaks as their Chief Ministers. In spite of this the Iranian language did not get much encouragement. It was the Arab language that developed and flourished as a result of the translation of the Greek and Sanskrit Classics into Arabic.

The Umeyya dynasty had established their capital in Damascus, but as that city was largely under the influence of the Roman satraps, Mansur established a new capital in Baghdad.

The Abbasis tried their utmost to crush the Shias, who were followers of Ali and Abu Muslim. Claiming that they too belonged to the family of the Prophet, they tried to strengthen themselves, but the Arab tribes were not prepared to accept the descendents of Mohammed's uncle, Abbas, in preference to those of his daughter, Fatima. In 758, Mohammed and Ibrahim, the descendents of Imam Hasan revolted. Prior to this an Iranian sect, the Ravindis, had created serious disturbances and threatened the lives of the Caliphs. Thus there was discontent in Central Asia and Eastern Iran. North of Armenia, the Khazar Nomads were beginning to put considerable pressure, and the Caliph had to send his armies to Armenia to ward them off. The Khazars were masters of the western shores of the Caspian, which had come to be known as the Bahira Khazar (Khozar Sea).

Mansur had also to contend against another Iranian sect, the Ustadsis. When the armies of this sect succeeded in defeating the Abbasi forces in Hirat, Sistan and other towns, the Caliph sent his commander-in-chief, Khazim, against them. Khazim succeeded in driving them into the mountains and there forced them to surrender.

Until Humaid, the son of the famous commander Kahatba, became the Governor of Khurasan, the Arabs had confined their conquest to the area west of the Hindu Kush mountains. Humaid also launched a crusade against Kabul. Although earlier, Sind and Multan had been included in the Caliphate by the Arabs, they did not dare attacking the Pathans (Pakhtoons). Humaid was determined to convert the whole of Kabul to Islam, but he did not meet with much success.

Caliph Mehdi (775-783)

When Mehdi, the son of Mansur, became the Caliph, Central Asia was already in the throes of strife and disturbance. He, therefore, appointed Abu Aun (775-76) as Governor in place of Humaid. Meanwhile, Mehdi himself was well aware of the situation in Khurasan. After the murder of Abu Muslim, the leadership of his followers was assumed by an illiterate person named Ishaq, who was also called Ali Turk because he had once been sent as an emissary to the Turks. Under Ishaq's leadership the rebellion in Antarved had taken a serious turn. He had proclaimed himself the living incarnation of Zoraster, so that he might establish his new religion among the Iranians. Although his revolt had been crushed, Abu Daud was killed by a member of this very sect. Abu Daud's successor, Abdul Jabbar, had gone over to the rebels, but he was taken prisoner near Mervrud.

The Mukanna Revolt

The most powerful revolt in Central Asia was led by Mukanna. His real name was Hashim, but claiming to be a prophet, he began to keep his face covered with a green veil. He let it be known that his face was kept covered thus so that the dazzling light that beamed from his countenance might not blind people. At first he was a follower of Abu Muslim and latter, when Abu Jabbar joined the rebellion, he became his companion. He declared that just as Abraham, Moses, Christ and Abu Muslim, were incarnations of God so also was he. His nickname "All Mukanna" was derived from the veil he always wore. He won his first successes in Subahgaon, but his influence spread later to Nasaph and the ruler of Bokhara Buniyat went over to him. In Sogdhia also, his followers unfurled the banner of revolt. In the Province of Bokhara centre of his activities was at Narsakh, the birthplace of the famous Arab historian Narsakhi. Mukanna was aided by the Turks. Ultimately, when the Caliph sent a large army against him, Mukanna took refuge in a mountain fortress, but finding the situation hopeless, swallowed poison and afterwards his head was severed and sent to the Caliph.

Musaiyan was appointed Governor after the failure of his predecessor, Moaz against the rebels and he was completely successful in crushing the rebellion of Mukanna. At this time a large number of Mazdakis were to be found in the villages of Antarved, and they often passed themselves off as Shiyas or Muslims of other Sects, but were in reality followers of Mazdak, who advocated the abolition of individual property and marriage.

The descendents of Nasr had by now gone over to the side of the Abbasis. One of them, Rafi, actually helped in putting down the revolt of Mukanna. Later, however, when certain accusations were levelled against him, he tried to save himself by becoming a rebel and driving the Abbasis out of Samarkand. He sent the ruler of Taskent a Turkish army to the aid of Nasaph. The people of Fargana, Khojend, Ausrushana, Bokhara and Khuttal also sided with Rafi and his northern neighbours, the Takuz Aguz, the Karloks and the Tibetans of the Terim valley also gave him military aid.

When the Northern Turks deserted Rafi and the Abbasi armies began to threaten him from all sides, he decided to surrender to the Caliph Mansur. The Caliph spared his life and after about fifteen years, the revolt was suppressed.

After the failure of Musaiyan, Fazal Tusi, son of Sulaiman was appointed Governor of Sistan and Khurasan. The following year the Caliph Mehdi died.

The reign of the fourth Caliph Hadi, was also marked by serious disturbances and rebellions. He was succeeded by Harun Rashid who with his son Mamun have become world-famous figures. As his chief Minister, Harun chose Yahiya Barmak, the son of Khalid, who became the most powerful of the Abbasi ministers, and who until 802, was in full control of the kingdom. He first appointed Jafar Ashasi Governor of Khurasan for one year. Jafar was replaced by his son Abbas Ashasi, but Abbas fared no better against Rafi. Jafar's brother was sent next, only to be replaced at the end of a year. Hamza Khujai was then appointed Governor and it was during his administration that a large-scale revolt of the Shiyas took place. The Chief Minister now decided to send his own son Fazal, as Governor of Khurasan. Fazal built many mosques and post offices and declared a crusade against Antarved. He succeded in repelling the attacks of the ruler of Ausrushana against the Abbasi armies, but complete success was still beyond his grasp. Mansur Himyari was appointed Governor in his place, but he could not put down the rebellion either. In disgust, the Prime Minister sent his second son, Jafar, but he too could not continue for more than two years. Then the Caliph Harun placed his young son, Mamun, as Satrap over the whole of his Eastern Empire. Ali was the next Governor, but he treated his subjects with such cruelty that at last Harun himself marched to the area at the head of a large army in order to see things for himself. Ali received the Caliph with a heap of presents, which so pleased him that he immediately returned to Baghdad. This gave Rafi the opportunity he was awaiting. He seized Samarkand and with the help of the Sogdhians and the Turks, he drove the armies of Ali away from Antarved. The Caliph then sent his commander, Harsma, and when he proved a failure, he himself took the field. On reaching Kirmanshah he sent his son Mansur to Merv, while Harsana attacked Rafi from his headquarters in Bokhara. Within a short time the whole of Antarved came under his control. Harun, meanwhile fell ill and was, therefore, advancing towards Khurasan at a very slow pace. On reaching Tus he died and was buried there.

After the death of Harun a contest for the Caliphate ensued between his two sons, Amin and Mamun. Amin was in control of the Capital, while Mamun held Khurasan and Central Asia. Amin had already ordered the army to return while his father was still alive. Mamun, therefore, destroyed all postal connections and declared himself Caliph of the Eastern part of the Empire from Hamdan to Tibet. In the end, a battle was fought out between the armies of the two brothers, in which Mamun was victorious, and while trying to escape Amin was killed by an Iranian soldier.

In 813, Mamun lamented to his minister, Fazal, that he was being forced to go in for a battle at a very critical moment, when the Karluk Yuvgu had not yet submitted to Arab suzerainty, the Tibetan Khakan rose in revolt, the King of Kabul was preparing to attack Khurasan and the ruler of

Utrar was refusing to pay taxes. Fazal advised Mamun : "Write to the Yuvgu and the Tibetan Khakan promising them military aid in case of war with their neighbours, send presents to the King of Kabul and ask him to keep peace and exempt the ruler of Utrar from paying taxes for a year". Mamun followed his advice and it proved effective.

Mamuns Caliphate lasted from 813-833. By 813, he made his Caliphate secure, but out of fear of the Arabs, and in accordance with the advice of his minister, he decided to make Merv his capital. This annoyed the people of the western provinces, especially because his trusted commander, Tahir, the Iranian, was sent as ruler of Baghdad. It was with the help of the Iranians that he gained the Caliphate, and it was with their backing that he made Merv his capital. It was, therefore, natural that their influence should be paramount in his court. Tahir was not very successful in Baghdad, because it was dominated by the Arabs who did not like the Iranians at all. Tahir tried to get his way by deceit and cunning and for a while he succeeded in establishing the control of the Caliph Mamun over the whole of Iran. But the discontent that was smouldering amongst the Arabs owing to the shifting of the capital from Baghdad, soon flared up into open revolt. The presence of the Iranian minister, Fazal, added fuel to the flame, the more so since Mamun influenced by his ministers distributed all the prize offices amongst Iranians. In 817, Nuh Samani and his brothers were made rulers of Fargana, Shash, Perak, Ausrushana and Hirat. But by 870, Mamun began to realise the consequences of the suicidal policy of Fazal and shifted his capital from Merv to Baghdad. Shortly after Fazal was assassinated at the bidding of Mamun. He then deposed Tahir and packed him off to the Eastern provinces. A eunuch accompanied Tahir with instructions to poison him at the first sign of revolt. When Tahir learnt of this he sent words to all the Imams in the regions administered by him to omit the name of the Caliph from their discourses, but in the following morning he was found dead in his bed. The followers of Tahir continued their hold on Neshpor, however, making it their capital. More will be said of them later.

Arab Literature

Between the reigns of Harun and Mamun (786-833) Arab literature flourished. Although Arabic continued to be the official language from the 7th to the 10th centuries even in Iranian territories, the full flowering of Arab literature was seen in the reign of the Abbasi Caliphs. Translations from Greek, Parthian and Sanskrit work, brought a new awakening in the Arab world. It was Khalid, the son of Yazdi I, who began the work of translating the Greek writings by instructing a Christian monk to translate a Greek book into Arabic. But the work of translation did not progress well because the Umeyya dynasty had little respect for anything non-Arabic. The Abbasis, however, being in fact half-Arab and half-Iranian, were attracted towards Greek and Suriyani literature. During the reign of Mamun many Greek works on medicine, law, philosophy and physics were translated into Arabic. Among the famous translators of that time, the name of Ibn Mukaffa headed the list. Mukaffa was not only an Iranian by nationlity but a follower of the Iranian religion. He translated many Greek works on philosophy. Although, like many other Arab translations they were lost in course of time, there is no doubt that they helped to spread Greek ideas. There were a number of Indian scholars among the translators patronised by Harun and Mamun, who translated many Sanskrit books on Medicine and Astrology into Arabic. Very likely they went to his court from Sindh, which waspart of the Arab Empire at this time.

The work of translation continued even after Mamun. Homen, Hovesh, Ibnul Hasan, Matta Alikani, Abu Zakaria, Abu Ali and Abul Khair Alhasan Khammar were the main translators. The reigns of Mansur and Mamun coincided with the period when The De Chugten, The Siang De Chan and The De Chan were ruling over Tibet and when thousands of Sanskrit books were being translated into Tibetan. The Tibetan translators were all Buddhists, whereas the Arabic translators were mostly Jews or Christians.

The first effect of the translation of the works of such philosophers and thinkers as Aristotle and Plato, was the foundation of the Motzala sect with its centre in Basra. One of their greatest scholars was Allaf Abul Hujail, who died in the ninth century. A contemporary of Shankaracharya (788-820), Allaf used the arguments of Shankar to prove that God was one and without any attributes. According to Allaf, God (Allah-Brahma) has no attributes, life is distinct from action, God is the source of all good, God's all powerfulness has a limit, miracles are false, the earth is not infinite but finite, and so is the Koran. Nazzam, another preacher of this sect, was probably a disciple of Allaf. The philosophy of monotheism had already reached Iran and Asia minor through the works of the neo-platonists.

Coins

The Arab Caliphs were the heirs of the Roman and Sasanian rulers, and their coinage was naturally influenced by them. Silver coinage was first minted in Bokhara by Kana, who ruled over the city for thirty years. This was during the reign of the second Caliph, Abu Bakar. Kana's coins bore on one face the image of the ruler of Bokhara and were current till the 8th century. As silver was extremely expensive at that time, Gitrif, one of the rulers of Bokhara, started minting the multi-metalled coins (with gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, nickel and bronze) which were named after their originator, Gitriphs. As these coins were not made of pure metal, people were reluctant to accept them. So a law was passed making them legal tender. Six gitriphs were equal originally to one silver dirham, but the value of gitriphs gradually rose to a par value with silver dirhams. Apart from gitriphs, the Mohammadi and Musaibi dirhams were also in use.

CHAPTER 18

THE TAHIRIS (818-872)

1. Tahir (818-822).

This dynasty was founded by Tahir. One of his ancestors was an officer under Turlha, Governor of Sazistan. Razik's son Musha-ab, was the ruler of Wushung, a town in Hirat. With the death of Musha-ab in 814, his son Hussain became the ruler of Sushung and after him came Tahir, who had already distinguished himself in the reign of Mamun, for it was he who commanded the army sent by Mamun against his brother Amin. As a reward for his success in conquering the Western provinces for Mamun, he was made Governor of Mesopotamia, commander of the Baghdad army and the ruler of Iraq.

Tulha (822–828)

Although Tahir revolted against Mamun and gave orders that the Caliph's name should not be pronounced by the Imams in the mosques, the Caliph lacked the courage to remove sons of Tahir from their posts as rulers of the various provinces. One of the sons, Abdulla, was fighting in Egypt and Mesopotomia on behalf of Mamun, and another, Tulha, continued to be the viceroy of the East. Tulha's capital was not Merv, but Neshpor and from there he exercised complete control over Tukharistan, Khurasan and Autarved. It was during his reign that an army was sent to the north of Central Asia under the command of Ahmed, son of Abu Khalid. Kavus, the ruler of Ausrushana, refused to pay taxes to Mamun after he had shifted his capital from Baghdad to Merv. Haider, son of Kavu killed one of the generals of Fazal and then fled to Baghdad. Fazal sent for help to the Takuj Aguz, in the North. When Kavus surrendered himself in Baghdad he had not yet embraced Islam. But in Baghdad the Caliph converted him to the Islamic faith and made him ruler of Ausrushana. He was succeeded later on by Haider, who became a distinguished noble of the Caliph's court and was then known as Afshin. In 841, Afshin Haider was put to death, but his dynasty continued to rule over Ausrushana till 893. Coins minted by the last Afshin in 892, are in display in the Leningrad museum.

When Ahmed came to Central Asia, he was cordially received by Tulha.

Ahmed was one of the protectors of the Samanis and Tulha placed Ahmad, son of Asad, on the throne of Fargana.

Ali (828-837)

Ali kept the kingdom of his predecessor intact. It was during his reign that the Caliph sent an expedition towards Turkestan, but there was a revolt among the Kharazis as a result of which he was killed near Neshpor.

Abdulla (837-844)

After the death of Ali, the Caliph Motsim sent Abdulla as Viceroy. Abdulla sent his son, Tehir, to conquer the Aguz and he planted the banner of Islam in areas where it had never been before and the people living between the Sir and Amu were converted to the Islamic faih. These converts being animated with the new religious fervour immediately launched a crusade against their northern neighbours, the Turks.

Abdulla was the most powerful of all the Tahiri rulers. His allegiance to the Caliph was only formal and in reality he had become an independent ruler. Motsim was the last of the Abbasi Caliphs to exercise some control over this part of Central Asia and it was he who had dug a canal in Taskent at a cost of two million dirhams which was in use till the 13th century.

Tahir II (844-51)

After the death of Abdulla Tahir and later Mohammed ruled over the kingdom, but by 872 this Iranian dynasty came to an end. At this time the Caliph of Baghdad was recognised merely as a spiritual ruler, even though he maintained some property in Bagdad till the time of Mohammed Tahir.

Administration

The Tahiris tried their utmost to keep the people with them, because they had to maintain their existence in the face of opposition from the Caliphs. They also tried in the interests of internal peace and tranquillity to protect the poor from the oppression of the rich. Tahir wrote a book on the Muslim religion, "Kitabul Kumiya" in which he wrote : 'Allah feeds us through the hands of the peasants, welcomes us through them and forbids us to illtreat them.' Like his father, (Tahir I) Abdulla was also a poet.

Mohammed, son of Abdulla (851-72)

Mohammed was at first the Governor of Baghdad and the personal property of the Caliph was administered by him. He sent the christian, Xavier to look after the land, and the latter not only looked after it, but even extended it by seizing the pastures of the neighbouring villages. This touched off a revolt led by the Shiyas. Hasan, the leader of the rebels, continued to rule over the area till 884. It was the support of the peasants that lay behind the success of the Shiyas. After 53 years of rule the Tahiri Dynasty came to an end at the hands of Yakub.

THE SAFFARIS (861-930)

Yakub (861-878)

During the reign of the Caliph Mutvakkal, Saleh occupied Khurasan on the plea of suppressing the Kharji community. Tahir himself had often acted as arbitrator in disputes between the Kharjis and Saleh. One of the allies of Saleh was Yakub Saffar (the ironsmith). From his childhood, he had been large-hearted, and when he came of age and took to banditry he continued to treat his victims with consideration. He soon gathered a band of followers around him and became a conqueror. Saleh sought help from him. Yakub seized the opportunity and helped him to suppress the revolt. Dirham, who was heir to the Governor handed over the army to Yakub and in 877, he succeeded in conquering Hirat, Kirman and later Shiraz. Meanwhile, the Tahiris had become very weak and unpopular. In 871, Yakub expressed his desire to meet the Caliph to offer his services to him. The Caliph was afraid lest Yakub should advance as a for as Bagdad ; he, therefore, promptly made him Governor of Tukharistan right up to the borders of India. Yakub crossed the Hindu Kush mountains and entered the Kabul valley. The Hindu ruler of Kabul had not so far been threatened by any Muslim. But now he was defeated by Yakub, and was taken as captive together with his idols of worship. In 872, Yakub put an end to the Tahiri dynasty by defeating Mohammed, the last of the Tahirs. It is said that Mohammed told Yakub : 'If you have come as an emissary from the Caliph, show me your credentials,' to which Yakub replied by unscathing the sword concealed beneath his cloak : 'Here are my credentials.'

In 881, Yakub died and his brother Amr succeeded him.

Amr Saffar (878-900)

Like his brother, Amr was a brave and an able leader too. For sometime he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Caliph, but on the complaint of the people of Khurasan, the Caliph Motmid tried to depose him from the Governorship and sent an army against him. In the final battle, Amr was defeated and fled to Sistan, his motherland. Regrouping his forces there he again attacked the army of the Caliph. In 892 the Caliph Motmid died and was succeeded by the Caliph Mojid. On offering his services to the new Caliph, Amr was again appointed Governor of Khurasan. At this time the Eastern provinces were divided into two parts—Iran and Antarved. Antarved was ruled by the Samanis, while Iran was under Amr. The Caliph was obliged to follow this policy because of the growing strength of Rafi, son of Harasma. In 896 Amr defeated Rafi, seized Neshapor and sent the head of Rafi to the Caliph, thus becoming master of the whole of Iran. Amr tried to advance towards Antarved, but the Caliph was following a double-faced policy—at times encouraging Amr, at others, encouraging Ismail Samani. In 900 Ismail surrounded Balakh and after some fighting the town fell into his hands and Amr was taken prisoner. The Caliph, meanwhile, died where upon Ismail threw Amr into a Baghdad prison and put him to death. Tahir, the Son of Amr was merely a nominal ruler. At first it had been the practice to mention the name of the Caliph in the post-Namaz discourses at the Mosques, but Amr, by getting his name mentioned started the practice of also having the names of rulers mentioned in the discourses given by the Imams.

In the Siyatnama the fall of Yakub and Amr and the rise of Ismail Samani is written : Among the Samanis there was a ruler named Ismail who was extremely just and virtuous. He had great respect for holy men. He was so wealthy and powerful that although he resided in Bokhara he was master of the whole of Khurasan, Iraq and Antarved. He drove Yakub out of Sistan. Yakub had designs of entering Baghdad, driving the Abbasi Caliph out with a view to putting an end to the Abbasi dynasty. The Caliph scented danger, however, and sent word to Yakub to keep out of Baghdad and stick to Iraq and Khurasan. Nevertheless Yakub persisted in his coming to Baghdad. Meanwhile, the Caliph consulted the elders who advised him to encamp with his army, and to wait with selected elders in the outskirts so that on arrival of Yakub the elders would mix with his commanders to know his intentions. If it was gathered that the Emirs of Iraq and Khurasan were not behind Yakub, they would launch the attack and defeat his force. The Caliph agreed to follow these tactics.

Yakub's army encamped near that of the Caliph. Yakub met the Caliph and asked him to leave Baghdad without delay. The Caliph asked for two month's grace. Meanwhile, he sent messengers to sound the Emirs who had come with Yakub. When they came to know of the real intention of Yakub, they professed their loyalty to the Caliph, and this was especially so in the case of the Emirs of Khurasan. The attack against Yakub was now launched and as was expected, he was routed in the very first attack. With great difficulty he escaped to Khigisistan, losing all his treasure. There he tried to regroup his forces. The Caliph sent his emissary with the message that he was prepared to forgive him if he agreed to return to Khurasan and resume the task of administration there.

Yakub, however, was unbending. He sent the emissary back with the reply that he was determined to go ahead with his plan to put an end to the Abbasi dynasty.

At about this time Yakub's health began to fail. He, therefore, appointed his brother Amru to succeed him and handed over the treasury to him. Amru thereupon returned to Khurasan and began to administer the area.

Amru was also a bold and large-hearted ruler like his brother. But the Caliph looked upon him with suspicion, lest he should follow the footsteps of his brother though Amru actually had no such intention. The Caliph sent an offer to Ismail of Bokhara to make him Governor of Iraq and Khurasan on condition that he would drive out Amru. Ismail accepted the offer and collecting an army of about 2000 men advanced to the Vakhshu and called upon Amru to surrender the kingdom. Amru rejected the proposal contemptuously and with an army of seventy thousand men marched towards Balakh. When the two armies clashed Amru was taken prisoner, although his forces remained intact. Amru was brought before Ismail, who took pity on him and asked him to dinner. But Amru told the escorting officer to report to Ismail that it was not military prowess but his behaviour, his integrity and faith that had won the day.

The Tahiris and Saffaris were virtually independent rulers. The Saffaris were not of aristocratic stock and were obliged to devote most of their energies to war, but the Tahiris paid considerable attention to the development of learning. The example set by the Caliphs Mansur, Harun and Mamun of Baghdad in translating the works of scholars and philosophers of other countries into Arabic was followed by them. Yakub Kindi (870) was the first Arab philosopher to be influenced by the works of those of Greece. Although he belonged to an Arab tribe, his family had been in Iraq for several generations. In the East, Islam produced three well-known philosophers, Kindi, Pharabi and Bualisina, of whom Kindi was the most famous. He was well-versed in Mathematics, Astrology, Geography, Medicine and Philosophy. He ridiculed the alchemists but was a firm believer in Astrology.

CHAPTER 19

KARAKHANI (940—1125)

During the period when the powerful Iranian dynasty, the Dailmi was gathering strength west of the Samani Empire, Ghaznavi Subuk Tagin was consolidating himself in the south and the Shah of Khwarezm was laying the foundations of his kingdom in Khwarezm, a powerful Turkish kingdom spreading from Kashgar to the Aral Sea had begun to establish itself in the north. When the Karakhani nomads found that the Samani kingdom had been growing weak they turned their attention to the areas beyond the Sir Darya. The Karakhani branch had separated itself from the main trunk of the Turks and settled on the ridges of the Tyanshan mountains, but there are writers who consider them distinct from the Uigurs. Their first Muslim Khan was named Satuk Karakhan. Nomadic tribes often came to be known by the name of their Khan and as one of theirs had been called Ili Khan, they are sometimes also referred to as Ilikhans. Till the tenth century this tribe occupied the regions between the Ili and Su rivers, and Kulan (modern Lugovia) and Merak were their two biggest towns. Under the leadership of Bogra Khan (1074-1102), they succeeded in conquering Antarved. Their Khans had first made Balasagun, north-west of Auliya-Ata, their centre but after Antarved came under their control they shifted their capital to Kashgar. The Samanian kingdom was divided up between them and Subuk Tagin, and the area north of the Amu going to the Karakhanis.

There is some controversy among historians regarding the origin of the Karakhani dynasty, but it seems clear that they were a branch of the Takuj Aguz. It was in 960, that some two hundred thousand Turkish nomads embraced Islam. It was natural that Islam which had already established itself firmly in Antarved, a centre of culture and learning, should exert its influence on the Northern nomads. Even during the reign of the Umeyya Caliphs, Muslims had begun to come into contact with these nomadic tribes through commerce and other intercourse. But early Islam had tittle appeal for these nomads, who found the simplicity and rigours of Buddhism more suited to their way of life. It was only after Sufi, the Muslim saint, had begun to preach a doctrine of austerity and sacrifice that these tribes began to be attracted toward Islam. Sufism, indeed, is Islamic only in name, for actually its teachings closely follow those of Buddha, Nestor and Mani.

Balasagun was taken by the Turkish "infidels" in 942 and the Samanis retaliated by killing the Khan's son. Meanwhile, some of the Aguz had settled in Antarved with the consent of the Samanis in order to guard the frontiers of the Samani Empire. They inhabited the area west and south-west of Isfajab. Another tribe led by Selzuk had settled down in the lower reaches of the Sir valley. Selzuk was the only Muslim who exempted the Muslims of Zand from paying taxes and after his death he was buried in Zand, while his descendents migrated to the South. In the 11th century they were living in Noor, near Bokhara, where they had been settled by the Samani rulers and it was they who helped the Samanis in their battle against the Khan of Balasagun for the control of Isfajab.

Genealogical Chart of the Dynasties

Karakhani	Ghaznavi	Selzuk
Shatuk Karakhan (955)		
Bogra Khan (993)		
Ilik Nasr (993-1012)	Subuk Tagin (997)	
Tugan (1012-1025)	Mahmud (997-1030)	
Kadir (- 1032)		
Arsalan I (1032-56)	Masaud (1030-41)	Tugral (1036-39)
Bogra II (1056)	Mohammad (- 1042)	
Ibrahim I (- 1059)	Moudud (1042)	
Tugral Yusuf (1059-74)		Alparsalan (1063)
Tugral Taimun		Malikshah (1073)
Bogra III Harun (1074-1103)	Anushtagin (1097)	Mahmud (1092)
		Burkiyaruk
Kadir II Jibril (1103)	Kutubuddin (1097-1127)	Malikshah II
		Mahumud II (1117)
	Atssiz (1127-56)	Sanjar (1117-57)

Shatuk Karakhan (955)

All that is known of him is that he was the first Khan to become a convert to Islam and that he was alive in 955.

Bogra Khan I (993)

He was the grandson of Musa, the son of Shatuk. By this time the Samani dynasty had grown extremely weak so that it was not a difficult task for Bogra Khan to take Antarved. One of the nobles of the Samanian court, Abu Ali, showed great interest in bringing Bogra Khan to Antarved in the expectation that the area south of the Amu river would be given to him. The peasants, too, had become so disgusted with the Samanian rulers that they welcomed the Khan. Among the reasons for the impasse into which the Samanians had fallen was that while their income was dwindling their expenses rose.

Muslim historians prefer to call Bogra, Uigur Khan. His capital was in Balasagun, and Kashgar, Khotan, Taras, Utrar and Karakoram were all under him. He was a contemporary of that Samanian ruler, Nuh III, who had treated Phaik, the governor of Kirat, with severe cruelty when he had taken part in a revolt. Phaik tried to avenge himself on Nuh with the help of Bogra Khan. Having been entrusted with the defence of Samarkand, Phaik opened the gates of the city to the Karakhanis. Nuh fled to Bokhara, and Bogra succeeded in taking that city, thereby becoming the master of the whole of Antarved. The climate of this place, however, did not suit him and after covering a few stages on his way to Balasagun in 993 he suddenly died.

Nuh now succeeded in regaining control of Bokhara, but as his nobles were bent on treachery, he turned for help to Subuk Tagin Ghaznavi whose commander was Mahmud Ghaznavi. With their help Nuh was able to subdue the rebel towns of Hirat, Neshapor and Tus, but later on Nuh and Subak Tagin fell apart.

After Bogra Khan came Ilik Nasr (993-1012) whose control extended over Antarved alone.

Ilik was succeeded by his brother Tugan who probably ruled over both Antarved and Saptanada. Probably Eastern Turkestan did not accept him as their Khan, but his brother Kadir Khan Yusuf was something more than a mere Governor of Kashgar and Yarkand. In 1017 when the Khitans from the East occupied Saptanada, Tugan advanced against them with a large army and drove them out. Within three months, however, he had to suffer defeat. While the strength of the Karakhanis was declining owing to growing internal strife, Mahmud Ghaznavi was becoming more and more powerful, but as he was a staunch supporter of Tugan, the Karakhanis did not apprehend any danger from him. He died in 1025.

Tugan had a brother, Arsalan Khan Mohammed, also known as Abu Mansur Mohammed. It is difficult to say whether he became the chief Khakan of the Karakhanis or just a provincial Governor. He too was a good friend to Mohammed. The story goes that Mahmud asked for the hand of his daughter for his son Masaud. She was received with great honour when she arrived, but on the very first night this Turkish bride is said to have assaulted her husband. Although Turks, Subuk Tagin and his son had mixed closely with the Sogdhians. They were greatly influenced by Persian culture and were patrons of the famous Persian writers Firdausi and Barauni. Socially, however, they were undoubtedly Turks.

Kadir Khan Yusuf was the son of Ali Tagin, nephew of Bogra. Regarding him it is also dificult to state whether he was the Khan of the Karakhani Empire or a Governor of Kashgar Province. On coin minted in Bokhara in 1012, Kadir Khan's title is given as Arsalan Khan. In 1016 a quarrel ensued between him and Tugan Khan which led to war, but Mamun, the ruler of Khwarezm acted as mediator and patched up their differences. It is said that Kadir first became the ruler of Samarkand and later extended his control over Kashgar and Khotan. He was a zealous propagandist of the Islamic faith and in course of time, as revealed by the coins of that period, he became the master of the whole of Eastern Turkestan. This makes it clear that long before his death Tugan had lost control of Eastern Turkestan and that his rule was confined to Saptanada and Antarved.

Arsalan Khan Sulaiman.

The elder son of Kadir Khan was Bogra Taimun who assumed the title of Arsalan Khan and ruled over Eastern Turkestan and Saptanada. The second son of Kadir, Igan Taimun Mohammed, took the title of Bogra Khan and began to rule over Tuls (Auliya Ata) and Ispfajab. The brothers became allies and attacked their kinsmen in Antarved but did not meet with much success. Later, the two brothers quarrelled and Arsalan Khan parcelled out his kingdom among his friends keeping only Kashgar and Balasagun for himself. This did not however, help to restore peace among the brothers and in 1056, Bogra Khan gained the upper hand and cast Arsalan into prison.

Bogra Khan II did not reign for long, as within fifteen months of his coming to power he was poisoned by his wife who was anxious to place her younger son, Ibrahim on the throne.

Ibrahim (1059) did not rule very long either, as he was killed in the battle with the ruler of Baraskhan, Yanal Taimun.

Internal strife and jealousy of the ruling Khans was a regular feature of the life of the Nomads. Most of them lived a life of hardship, while the Khan amassed vast wealth for himself and his family. This naturally gave rise to bitterness. In the face of external enemies they would unite, but the seeds of strife always remained dormant.

Describing some of the practices of the Turkish Nomads, a Russian historian writes : 'The divisions among them were a source of constant strife. No major step could be taken to put an end to this, because many of those involved were members of the royal family and their services, were needed when danger threatened. Another practice amongst them was to form regiments of soldiers and keep them among the slaves of the royal court without however treating them as slaves. These soldiers could always be relied upon in time of need. Such slaves were slaves only in name as they were given a good education and trained to assume important responsibilities. The father of Mahmud Ghaznavi, Subuk Tegin, was brought up as a "slave" of this kind while the first Turkish Sultan of Delhi, Kutubuddin, had also been a similar slave in the Gori dynasty. Many of these slaves married in the royal family.'

Tugral Karakhan Yusuf (1059-74)

After Ibrahim, Tugral Karakhan Yusuf, a grandson of Kadir Khan Yusuf, ruled for sixteen years. His brother, Bogra Khan Harun shared the responsibilities with him. Both of them fought against Shamsulmulk Nasr, ruler of Antarved, but ultimately came to a settlement with him accepting Khojend as the border between the two kingdoms.

Tugral Taimun (1074)

He was the son of Tugral Yusuf, and ruled for only two years. Bogra Khan III Harun, ruled over Kashgar, Balasagun and Khoton for twenty-one years. Bogra Khan had been a Viceroy under has brother when Autarved passed into the hands of another branch of the Karakhani family. It was at that time that he wrote the first Turkish work of Poetry "Kudatkubilik" (1069). Other Poems must have been composed earlier but they were not written down.

In 1073, Malk Shah Selzuki occupied Samarkand and advanced as for as Ujgand. Bogra Khan accepted his suzerainty. When Malk Shah left for Samarkand there was a revolt in the country and the people sought the aid of the Khan of Kashgar's brother and Yakub Taimun, the ruler of Atabash. Yakub attacked Samarkand but when Malik Shah faced him he fled to Atabash, from where he proceeded to fight his own brother. Bogra Khan seized Atabash and threw Yakub into prison, whereupon Malik Shah went to Ujgand and demanded that Yakub be handed over to him. Bogra refused to do so. The Selzuki army now surrounded Kashgar utlimately taking Bogra Khan captive. Meanwhile, Malik Shah came to terms with Yakub and persuaded him to continue the battle against Tugral. The outcome of this battle is not known, but Bogra Khan must have escaped from his captivity, because he is known to have ruled over Kashgar till the end of the 11th century.

From these events it is difficult to determine if there was actually any one Khan who was accepted as the ruler of all the Karakhanis. There were constant quarrels in the ruling family, the members of which were in the habit of consigning one another to prison. The common people of the tribe joined the fight in order to get a share of the loot, without caring who they fought for. But greed for wealth even among their topmost nobles was a source of constant strife.

Kadir Khan II Jibril (1103), the grandson of Bogra Khan Mohammed, was probably the last of the Karakhani Khans and it was from him that the Karakhitais seized the kingdom. In 1102, Jibril's star was at its zenith, because he not only succeeded in occupying Antarved, but the territory of the Selzuks across the Amu. He also took Termiz, but was killed soon after while fighting against Sinjar.

Islam

Prior to the Karakhanis there was no Muslim dynasty among the Turks. Chinese influence had always been dominant over Eastern Turkestan. This is why many Karakhani Kagans and rulers of Antarved used the title Tabgach Khan which was given in the eighth century by the Chinese Emperor. The boundaries of the Karakhani Empire extended up to the borders of China. Within this empire there were towns like Urumchi Turphan and Home. Till the 15th century Islam had not become the dominant religion of these towns which were still under Buddhist and Nestorian influence. Karakhani coins bore the Uigur in addition to the Arabic script as an indication of this influence. The poetical work of Bogra Khan "Kudatkubilik", has many words in Uigur, Turkish and Mongol. With regard to that part of the Karakhani empire which was situated in Western Turkestan, more is to be said later.

CHAPTER 20

KARAKHITAI (1125-1218)

Karakhitai means "the dark Khitans". Khitai has reference to a famous Chinese dynasty, the Chao (a branch of the Soong family). The importance of Khitais can be judged from the fact that, just as in India and many other countries, the whole of China came to be known as such because of the Chin dynasty of China. In Russia and certain Muslim countries China is known as Khitai because of the Khitai dynasty. The word "nan-Khitai" still current in India, refers to a kind of Chinese bread and this shows that in India too, this word was popularly used to describe the Chinese.

The ancestors of the Khitans were Gheis who hung their dead in trees and later collected the bones and burnt them. The Khitans and Gheis were both descended from the Syan Pi. The Gheis were mainly the eastern branch of the Jumin tribe. In the sixth century, the Jumins ruled over North China but earlier the Syan Pi had driven the Khitans from north of the Siramur river into the region between the desert and the Sungari river. In 388 A. D., the first Toba Emperor had punished the Gheis for plundering his territories and from 400 and onwards the Gheis and the Khitans had regularly paid tribute to the Chinese court. In 479, the Khitans migrated to the region that is now known as Mongolia and by the sixth century they were inhabiting the area north of the Sir river. It was to save the country from the incursions of the Gheis and the Khitans that the Toba Emperor extended the great Wall of China by three hundred miles, from Nanking to Tatung Phu. It was from the Syan Pi dynasty the Khitans and later the Manchus were descended who completely imbibed the Chinese language and culture.

It was quite a common thing to find among the nomads that whenever circumstances were favourable a tribe would chose an able leader and establish a kingdom of its own. When the Turks began to press against them, a number of Khitan families fled to Korea, while others went to China. In 438, the Thang Emperor Tai Chung, settled the Khitans in a province which is now known as Jehol. It was the same Emperor who appointed a ruler over all the barbarian tribes of the East and gave him the title of Khan. But by doing so he could not save China from the depredations of these nomadic tribes. In 842, the Chinese Emperor took the Khitans under his protection as a counterblast against the Uigurs. The Khitans continued to grow in strength even after the Thang dynasty had ended and they succeeded in bringing the Gheis, Sir, Sirvi and other tribes in their control.

It was in the area inhabited by the Gheis and the Khitans that the ancestors of the Mongols were to be found.

Khitan Dynasty

The founder of the Khitan dynasty was Apoki, but it was his son Tai Chung who became Emperor. Below is given the genealogical table of this dynasty.

KHITAN DYNASTY

Apoki	907-26
Tai Chung	926-47
Shi Chung	947-52
Mu Chung	952-68
Ching Chung	968-83
Cheng Chung	983-1031
Shing Chung	1031-55
Tau Chung	1055-1101
Tyan Chu Ti	1101-21
Te Chung	1121-25

Apoki

The Khitans declared themselves independent of China and united themselves to settle in a region which they named Syang Lo Ko Muli, which means the two banks of the river. Each of their tribes had its own Chief. All the Chiefs joined together to elect a President who was given a bugle and flag as a symbol of his authority. This had also been the practice in the Syan Pi dynasty. In times of adversity the President could be removed from his post. The main occupation of the Khitans was horse breeding.

When the Shado Turkish dynasty replaced that of the Thangs in the 10th century, Apoki was the chief of the Khitan tribes and many Chinese had taken shelter with him in order to escape the political strife in China. Apoki built many towns in his territory, for unlike the other nomads, they had no aversion to a settled life. Finding that the Chinese had a very poor opinion of elective posts, Apoki decided to become a king. With selected followers, chosen from all the tribes, Apoki formed a special tribe of his own and modelled it as nearly as possible on the Chinese pattern. He also built a city in the Chinese style. This was situated in an area that had plenty of cultivable land as well as salt and iron mines. He gave much facilities to Chinese traders and farmers so that they might cease to think of leaving his territory, but he imposed a tax on all those who took salt from it. On one occasion he organised a large celebration to which all the tribal chiefs were invited. Burying for ever the custom of electing the President, he murdered all the tribal chiefs and proclaimed himself King.

Apoki was a very able and powerful ruler, but he was still formally a vassal of the Chinese Emperor. He decided to end this state of things and began to loot and plunder the territories between Jehol and Peking. In spite of opposition, he succeeded in reaching Peking.

There were many small tribes from which Apoki apprehended attack. One of this was the Botaskoi tribe, and he felt is necessary to crush them at the outset and it was in order to do this he maintained good relations with Shado. But after the death of Shado, when his son Mao Chi Li came to the throne and sent an emissary to him, Apoki cast his eyes and said : 'How said ! Your late Emperor and myself considered ourselves brothers. How is it that Mao Chi proclaimed himself the Emperor without consulting me ?' The emissary replied : 'The new Emperor has been the commander-in-chief and has been in command of the army for twenty years. He has three hundred thousand trained soldiers under him. Who can dare oppose him.'

Apoki's son was standing beside the emissary. He said : 'Do not talk too much ! Do you know the peasant saying that the cow that trespasses into another's fields can be seized by the owner of the fields ?'

'How dare you apply this to the Empepor who has been blessed by both man and God ? When your own father threw overboard ancient traditions and poclaimed himself the Emperor, did anyone dare oppose him ?" replied the emissary.

Apoki's anger began to mount. "I can use Chinese", he said "but I do not use a single Chinese word before my people lest they should learn to imitate the Chinese and become cowards like them. You would do well to return immediately and advise your master that I would like to meet him somewhere between Peking and Deng Ting Phu with two thousand men and that I shall sign a treaty with him there. If he will agree to hand over the plains of Peking to me I shall refrain from attacking him.'

Apoki attacked Botaskoi, seized their capital, renamed it "Purvi Tan" and made his son ruler of the city. Shortly after this Apoki died.

Apoki introduced a new script which resembled somewhat that of the Chinese. Certain inscriptions in this script have been found, but they have not yet been deciphered. Apoki's tribesmen roamed with their cattle between Mongolia and Manchuria on the banks of the Taling river. It was there that his capital Cuyung was situated. The fifth Khitan Emperor built another capital 300 miles east of Mukden.

The Khitan rulers were very fond of hunting. Their hunting villas faced the east, because like the Indians the Khitans considered it auspicious to face in that direction. Instead of coins they used bales of silk and in their cities there were many silk factories. Buddhist monasteries were also built in large numbers. In addition, they had places of entertainment and houses of prostitution such as were to be found in the Chinese capital.

Houses for artisans, students and teachers were built along with Government offices.

Tai Chung

Backed by his mother the younger son of Apoki, Tai Chung succeeded to the throne. He too continued to plunder the Chinese territory. The Shado Emperor Tekwang sent his son-in-law to defend the frontiers, but he went over to the side of the rebels. The Khitans, with their tents and carts, invaded China. Mao Ki Re made a frantic appeal that he be allowed to continue to rule and serve his people, but it fell on deaf ears. His army was badly defeated. His son-in-law, Shi King Tau became the Emperor and in return for the help received from the Khitans, he gave them a province and many presents.

Yen Ching (modern Peking) became one of the administrative centres of the Khitans. Thus the foundation of the future glory of Peking was laid. The dynasty founded by Tai Chung came to be known as the Lyayo dynasty.

The Khitan Empire within China was divided into twelve Provinces. Besides, Manchuria and the Northern Tartar territoy was also theirs. Tai Chung organised his Empire on the Chinese pattern. He sent presents every year to the Chinese court. It is probable that it was because Shanking Tung violated their treaty that Tai Chung began to raid and plunder the Chinese territories. Ultimately however, he was defeated by the Chinese armies and had to flee to Yunchi. There he regrouped his forces and penetrated into the Chinese Capital, Pujan. The Chinese Emperor and his mother begged for mercy, even sending the royal Chariot to receive him, but he spurned it, saying : 'I have taken a vow to conquer the whole of China. I have no time to travel in chariots for the sake of appearances.' The following day the Khitan conqueror entered the Chinese capital wearing a Sumerian cap and mounted on a horse. All the Chinese officers prostrated themselves before him, but after entering the city he declared that people need have no fear as he was, after all, only a man. Three weeks later he was formally crowned as Emperor according to Chinese rites and an amnesty was declared to mark the occasion. The Emperor now began to be called

"Mahalyao". He appointed Khitan Governors for every province, giving them interpreters so that they might be able to carry on the work of administration. When the Khitan army was short of food, it looted the people to make up the shortage.

In Shansi province almost all the Khitan governors were killed by the Chinese commander, Lyu Chi Yuvan. Putting his brother-in-law in charge of the capital, Tai Chung set out with a large retinue. Crossing the Hwang Ho he reached Chang Te but fell ill after he had proceeded as far as Lyayo Chang and died there. The Khitan carried his corpse to the North.

Shi Chung (Bu Yu)

After Tai Chung, his nephew Bu Yu, son of Turyuk, succeeded to the throne. He was a cruel but large-hearted man. Although addicted to drinking, he was a good artist and a well-read person. He was with his uncle in China when he died. The Chinese general was unable to take advantage of the hundred thousand soldiers at his command and fell into the trap Bu Yu laid for him when he went to a drinking party, and was thrown into prison. Bu Yu then declared that his uncle's behest was that he should occupy the throne. But his grandmother was backing the second son of Tai Chung, and as a result struggle began between the two rival claimants. The army did not side with the grand mother so she had to suffer defeat and was sent to some place in the North where the remains of Apoki were to be found.

After ruling for five years Bu Yu ordered the army to loot the people in order to make up for a shortage of supplies. The army refused to obey him. They revolted and killed Bu Yu.

Mu Chung (Shu Lu)

Shu Lu, the son of Tai Chang, was the next to come to the throne. He had no interest in the affairs of the state and spent his nights in drinking bouts and the days in sleeping, and that is why he was nicknamed the "sleeper". In 959, the second king of the Chao dynasty seized a number of towns from the Khitans, but Mu Chung declared that he did not mind as long as they retained at least some of the towns. In 960, the Soong dynasty was established. This dynasty followed a policy of appeasing the Tartars, while the Khitans coutinued their plundering raids. The Soong Emperor, Tai Chu, decided to lead an attack against them in person. Mu Chung was killed and in his place the son of Shi Chung came to the throne.

Ching Chung

The Khitan emperors now began to assume Chinese names. In 970, the Chinese armies defeated the Khitans. However, after 975 the relations between the two improved and there were exchanges of emissaries on a number of occasions. The Khitans began to imbibe chinese culture very rapidly, and when the Soong Emepror, Tai Chu died a special delegation was sent to convey condolence on their behalf. In 978, however, war broke out again. The new Soong emperor Tai Chung (976-97) seized Tu Ming (Peking) and ten thousand Khitans were killed in the battle. But frequent battles had made the area so desolate that the Soong army soon left it.

Shing Chung

Till the death of Ching Chung the looting and plunder continued. After him his twelve year old son sat on the throne with his mother as regent who had been an intimate of a chinese general. In 986, after the failure of a Chinese offensive the Khitans succeeded in defeating all the Chinese generals. In 989, the Soong Emperor again launched an attack and defeated the Khitans, whereupon a large number of families crossed the Hwang Ho and sought shelter in China. The Soong Emperor thus gained a strong force to assist him.

Disgusted with endless wars, the Khitan king and the Queen mother collected their whole army and attacked the Soong Emperor. It was in this battle that the Khitans used a species of cannon for the first time in history. It was a device on the bow and arrow principle which threw huge stones and chunks of wood. Here they were not successful, but in Shang Chao they practically surrounded the Soong armies although their commander was wounded and had to withdraw to his tent. A truce was then negotiated and a settlement took place. In return for the part of their territory seized by the Chinese, the Khitans were to receive compensation. In 1010, the Queen mother died and her death was followed soon after by that of her lover, the Chinese general. On the death of Cheng Chung, Shing Chung became the new emperor. After this no major strife with the Khitans is reported.

Shing Chung, the son of Cheng Chung, now came to the throne. By this time the Tungtos (Tibetans) had grown quite strong. In 1028, the Tungto king captured the Uigur town of Chang Chang. Feeling the increasing pressure of the Tibetans the Soong Emperor then tried to get back the provinces he had lost. But on such proposal of the Soong ambassador the Khitan king replied : 'Our people are not too keen on war. But if as compensation we get another Chinese province I shall be satisfied. The emissary of the Soong Emperor explained that he was willing to increase the value of the presents that were being sent him but the treaty between the two should not he broken. Shing Chung realised the force of his arguments. He next demanded a princess, to which the emissary replied : 'Marriage ties lead to quarrels. Exchange of presents is a better tie between two peoples. A hundred thousand ounces of silver is all that is sent as the dowry of a first-rate princess, but this is less than the presents that are being offered to you. Shing Chung replied : 'Very well, when you come next I will let you know which I prefer, the present or the princess'.

The Chinese Emissary came again. It was decided that instead of 200,000 bales of silk, 300,000 would be given. Further, that China should see that the Po Hang dam was not destroyed, that the arimes on the borders would not be increased and that the Khitans would not give shelter to refugees from China.

In 1044, the Khitans attacked the Tungtos on the plea that they had given shelter to refugees. The Khitans were victorious. In 1054, to mark the completion of fifty years of peaceful relations betwen the two countries, Shing Chung sent his portrait to China and asked for Jung Chung's in exchange. The following year, after completing twenty five years of his rule, Shing Chung died and his son ascended the throne. Shing Chung had been a devout Buddhist and had appointed Buddhist monks to many high offices.

Relation between the Soong and Khitan emperors continued to be cordial, but nothing could prevent the Khitan nomads from carrying on occasional raids on the borders. Realising that war would prove too costly, the Chinese preferred to tolerate them.

Customs and Manners

The Khitans spent the months of February and March in hunting. Later they would break the ice-crust on the Tarur river in order to catch fish. They also hunted snipe. In the summer they went to Tyan Shan in order to spend the autumn in hunting deer in the mountains. Two of their tribes, the Syao, reperesenting the royal Ghei family, and the Yuyerut, representing the royal Khitan family, were considered superior to all others.

Admnistrative Divisions

Before Apoki, a democratic form of administration had prevailed, but Apoki abolished that and introduced the monarchical system of government.

For carrying on the administration there was a political assembly. The executive committee and the central staff were referred to as the 'south side' people, because they lived in the southern part of the place.

Tagin : The Royal Prince.
Ilipur : Assistant Minister.
Linya : The Professor or Priest.
Ilgin : Title of the Provincial Governor.

Four of their tribes, i. e. the Ghei, Shikhi, Muchen and Botaskoi had a special function and special rights. All the youths of these tribes between the ages of fifteen and twenty five were subject to compulsory military service.

When the Khitans went for battle they sacrificed a grey bull and a white horse. The practice of sacrificing a white horse was followed by the Huns and later by the Mongols. This sacrifice was meant for appeasing the deities of the heavens, earth and the sun. When the king died a gold image of him was kept in a separate tent and every month wine was drunk there in his memory.

Military Administration

The king maintained the horses, while every soldier was expected to bring with him his own saddle, bow and arrows, spear, axe, hammer, a small flag, flask, a ration bag, a piece of felt, an umbrella, two hundred feet of rope and a bag of fodder. The Khitans would set out in the month of November on their expeditions of loot and plunder, returning in February. They would scatter as soon as they entered a village and, not content with loot, they would pluck the fruit from the trees and burn the houses. They would round up children and women old and young, and carry them off. They would attack towns in small groups. When they approached a mountain pass or narrow passage, they would appoint guards for safety. In contrast to the highly mobile Khitan army, the Chinese army consisted mainly of foot-soldiers, who carried huge quantities of stores with them and consequently became easily tired.

In 1067, the Khitans began to call their dynasty the "Mahalyayo" dynasty. While the Soong Emperor sat on the throne, the Khitans sent him a good-will mission to express their friendship. At the same time they fortified their towns and strengthened their border forces. In 1074, an emissary was sent with complaints to the Chinese court. He succeeded in getting some concessions and also settling the question of boundary. Meanwhile, quarrels broke out within the Khitan family as a result of which the prince and his mother lost their lives. After a reign lasting 47 years, Tau Chung died in 1101 and his grandson Yen Hi ascended the throne.

Tyan Chu Ti

The Chinese Emperor had died just a year before Tyan Chu came to the throne. Immediately after coming to power Tyan sent a mission to the Chinese court. At this time the Chinese were engaged in a war with the Tibetans, whose Empire had begun to break up. The Chinese had sought the help of the Khitans against the Tungtos and the Khitans agreed to mediate between the two powers.

Tyan Chu Ti was a short-tempered and greedy person, who had to face the revolt of the Nechena tribe, led by their Chief, Akuta. The Botaskoi army was sent against the rebels but Akuta defeated them. After a number of defeats Tyan Chu himself led an army against them but Akuta defeated him in every battle. As against the Khitans, who called themselves the Lya tribe (Iron), Akuta named his tribe Kin, or "golden", and assumed the title of Kin Emperor. Later, the Batskoi tribe also revolted and their commander, Kao Yung Chung, proclaimed himself Emperor. The whole of the modern Lyao Tung valley, except Mukden, was under their control, but ultimately the Chinese Emperor sent a huge army against them and their leader was killed.

In 1108, there was a severe drought in their territory and people in their hunger killed one another to feed themselves. Tyan Chu made his uncle the commander, because it was his influence that had saved Mukden. But he was defeated by the Nechens, who seized all the important towns. They sent a list of demands to the Khitans, the foremost being that the Kin chief should be recognised as the Emperor of the Khitans. The Khitans sent a crown and other presents to placate Akuta, but he refused to be satisfied with these and continued his advance until he seized their capital. Tyan Chu fled to Yven Yeng, where he forced his second son to commit suicide so that he might not stand in the way of his younger son becoming king. This, however, set the people against him. His followers left him, he had to flee from town to town and while proceeding from Tendus, he was killed by his own servants.

Te Chung

After the death of Tyan Chu, Te Chung, who had been placed in command of Peking assumed control of the kingdom. The Kins were negotiating with the Chinese and demanded that Akuta be recognised as the equal to the Chinese Emperor. The Soong family thought it wise to accede to this demand and going further gave up their claim to Peking and Tyan Chin.

The Kins later began to claim the whole of China north of the Hwang Ho. Failing to receive a satisfactory reply from the Soong Emperor the Kin General crossed the Hwang Ho, and without encountering much resistance, seized the territory which is now known as Kang Shang Phu. The victors demanded five million ounces of gold, ten million ounces of silver and a million yards of silk. The Soong Emperor immediately sent two hundred thousand ounces of gold and four millon ounces of silver, promising to pay the rest by instalments. But the Kins soon attacked them again and were ultimately suceessful in defeating the Soong armies completely. It was in these battles that the weapons which Chengiz Khan used later were first tested. After the capital had been wrested from him the Soong Emperor surrendered to the Kin commander Chun Muho who rather than assuming the troublesome responsibility of running the administration of the kingdom proposed to accept a heavy ransom. He demanded ten million ounces of gold, a hundred million ounces of silver and ten million bales of silk. In the end, the Soong Emperor gave up his throne and the Kins carried him, his queen and several thousand attendants to their territory. Thereafter Shansi, Santung, Chi Li and Honan, became part of the Kin Empire.

The Khitan Empire had come to a close, but one of their princes, Yu Lu Daisi founded a vast Empire which is known in history as the Karakhitai Empire.

The Karakhitai Dynasty

Yu Lu Daisi	1125-43
His daughter	1143
Yelu lle (Queen)	1143
Chu Le Gu	1182
Gurkhan	1210
Kuchuluk	1210-1218

Yu Lu Daisi

When the Khitan Emperor Tau Chung, threatened the prince Yu Lu Daisi, for usurping his uncles' throne, Yu Lu fled with two hundred of his men into the territory of the white Huns and with their help went to Urumchi. According to the historian Juvaini, the Karakhitais under Yu Lu's leadership reached Khirgiz territory and settled down in a town which later became the capital of Ogutai, the son of Chengiz Khan. It is said that Yu Lu was invited by the Turkish Khans to help them against their enemies, the Kipchiaks and Karluks. Yu Lu soon seized Balasagun, the capital of the Karluks, but he allowed the Karluk Khan to rule. The Uigur ruler of Bishbalik accepted his suzerainty without offering any resistance and Yu Lu defeated Arsalan Khan and occupied the Terim valley. The Khirgiz and Kipchiak forces were unable to resist his armies and soon surrendered.

Yu Lu settled forty thousand families in Emil, but in the meantime strife between the Karluks of Antarved and their ruler broke out. Mahmud Khan, the ruler, sought help from Sinjar while the Karluks asked Yu Lu to come to their aid. Yu Lu agreed to mediate in the dispute and peace was restored. But as Sinjar opposed this the Karakhitais attacked Sinjar and in 1141 inflicted a defeat on him. They also forced the Selzuk army to move as far as Dargam (south of Samarkand) and thousand of corpses floated down the stream after the battle. Sinjar fled towards Termiz and the Karluk ruler, Mahmud who subsequently appealed to Yu Lu for help, also became a fugitive. Yu Lu now became the master of the whole of Antarved and in the same year the Karakhitais gained control of Bokhara. A rumour became current that the King of Khwarezm had also sent an appeal to the Krakhitais for aid, but actually Khwarezm was ransacked by them. By summer, however, Sinjar had regained control of Khurasan.

In Kirmina (Uzbekistan), Yu Lu proclaimed himself the Gurkhan or Khan of Khans, and that is why the Karakhitai dynasty is also known as the Gurkhani dynasty. The great Timur also called himself Gurkhan. After he had been proclaimed Emperor Yu Lu began to wear silk robes and other costly materials. He kept himself completely covered lest his costly dress should excite his peoples greed. Some historians have expressed the opinion that Yu Lu was a follower of Manu, but this seems doubtful, for the Khitan Tartars were mostly Buddhists.

Yu Lu's forces were highly disciplined. Unlike other soldiers of the time they did not loot the people after victory in battle, but merely collected a war-tax of one dinar from each family. Gurkhan never betrayed his allies. His direct control extended over Saptanada, Kulja and the provinces north-east of the Sir Darya. His empire, however, extended from the Gobi Desert to the banks of the Vakshu (Amu Darya) and from the borders of Tibet to Siberia. The first Gurkhan died in 1143.

The most important of the tribes under the Karakhitai was the Naimun. It was after conquering this tribe that Timur became so powerful, and it was from the Naimuns that Mongol culture was mainly derived.

After the death of Yu Lu, his daughter ascended the throne, but she died shortly after. Her brother, Yelu Ile was the next to succeed her but as he was still a minor, his mother became regent.

After killing his sister and elder brother, Chu Le Gu (1143-82), the son of Yelu Ile, became the ruler. Muslim historians have given lurid accounts of his cruelty and the licentiousness of his life, but if these had been true, the Karakhitai Empire could not have continued to exist so long.

Gurkhan was probably a Buddhist, but as a ruler he treated all religions with equal respect. It was during the reign of Gurkhan that the Nestorian Patriarch, Ilyas, established his metropolis, naming it the Metropolis of Kashgar and Nevakrit. This probably also included the southern part of Saptanada. Under Karakhitais Islam fell into the background, and the Christian and other religions had a chance to breathe freely. But by this time the majority of the people had become Mussulmans, and many of the local rulers were in the habit of fanning the flames of religious passion in order to promote revolts. In the reign of Chu Le Gu, the Karluk Khan of Khoton, Arsalan Khan, organised a revolt to which he succeeded in attracting a large number of Muslims. He tried to involve the Khitai chief, Shamur Tahang, in the rising but the local Muslim rulers who had a great respect for Gurkhan refused to join Arsalan.

Gurkhan

A number of rulers followed Chu Le Gu, but the history of about the next forty years is shrouded in mystery, though it is probable that there was a struggle between rival claimants to the Gurkhani throne.

The Naimun prince Kuchluk who never forgot that his father Tai Wang had been murdered by Chengiz, joined the Gurkhanis. Tai Wang was a powerful Emperor of the Khitan tribe. Kuchluk was accorded a cordial reception at the Gurkhan court and the daughter of the Khan was given to him in marriage. It is reported of Kuchluk that he had been a Christian but out of respect for his father-in-law, he became a Buddhist after his marriage. Meanwhile, Chengiz inflicted a crushing defeat on the remnants of the Naimuns. The Naimun leaders, Kuchluk and Tuktabiki of the Mergit tribe, were trying to reestablish the power of the Naimuns. Tuktabiki was killed in battle, but his son attacked the Uigurs and tried to make a place for himself there. The Uigur chief, Idigut, joined hands with Chengiz, while the Mergits joined hands with Kuchluk in the Gurkhan Empire.

The Muslim Revolt

The boundaries of the Muslim kingdoms started from the eastern frontier of the Uigur territory. Although the Muslims were none too happy about the existence of the anti-Muslim Karakhitai, they did not dare making any great move in face of their organised strength. After the 13th century, when, as a result of the attacks of Chengiz, the Naimun and Mergit tribes began to move westwards the resentment of the Muslim rulers began to grow. There was, however, more than a religious bias behind this because the declining strength of the Karakhitai Empire attracted every Tribal Chief who was anxious to expand his kingdom.

The movement against them began first in Eastern Turkestan, where the Gurkhan had been ill-treating the Karluks. The Gurkhan knew that this revolt would spread in all the Muslim provinces. But it was the strength of the Nomads that led to the success of the movement. The Muslim revolt had begun to gather strength from the time of Arsalan Khan. In the course of the struggle more than forty thousand Muslims laid down their lives. Buzar was the leader of the rebellious Muslims. Assuming the title of Tugral Khan, he declared himself a vassal of Chengiz Khan, but Chengiz was too busy at that time with his war against China to pay attention to the affairs of the Western provinces.

The conflict with Khwarezm

When the Karakhitais attacked Bokhara in 1207, all the wealthy nobles of the town sided with the ruler of Khwarezm. But he could not stand before the Karakhitai forces. He asked Malik Sinjar for help only to meet with a refusal, because the latter had for many years been a prisoner.

In 1208, when the king of Khwarezm went to restore peace in Khurasan, there was a severe earthquake, which caused heavy damage. Two accounts have been handed down by tradition as to the reason for the conflict between the Shah of Khwarezm and the Karakhitai.

The first runs as follows. Khwarezm had been paying tribute to the Karakhitai for many years. In 1210, a Gurkhani collector who was sent round for the taxes, behaved rudely by taking his seat beside the ruler on his throne. Mohammed, Khwarezm Shah, was furious and had him thrown into the river and then proceeded to attack Bokhara and Samarkand. Osman, the ruler of Samarkand, who had a grudge against the Gurkhan for having refused his daughter in marriage to him, came to terms with Mohammed and introduced his coinage and his "Khutba" (Pronouncement of the name of the ruler after the Namaz in mosques) in Samarkand. Mohammed then crossed the Sir Darya, met the Karakhitai general in battle and succeeded in having him imprisoned and sent to Khwarezm. He easily conquered Utrar and then returned to Khwarezm via Samarkand.

During his absence the Kipchiak Chief, Nadir Khan, plundered the areas near Jand. At this Mohammed marched straight to Jand to take revenge. Mohammed defeated the Kipchaiks but on learning that the Karakhitai had beseiged and attacked Samarkand, he rushed back. In the mean time Kuchluk revolted in the East against the Karakhitai, and as a result they made peace with Mohammed and left. But Mohammed pursued them.

An agreement was reached between Kuchluk and Mohammed that the first amongst them to defeat the Gurkhan would become master of the whole of Turkish territory. It was Kuchluk who met with success. In the battle that was fought by Mohammed, a part of his army went over to the enemy. In the confusion Mohammed was surrounded, but he in disguise managed to escape across the Sir Darya to rejoin his army.

According to the second account, the Karakhitai had not paid taxes for two or thnee years and the Gurkhan Minister went to collect them. Mohammed was obliged to leave Khwarezm in order to fight the Kipchaiks, but he entrusted his mother with the task of settling matters with the representative of the Gurkhan. She paid up all the arrears and agreed to accept the suzerainty of the Gurkhan. But when he went back the Gurkhan Minister complained that the Shah of Khwarezm was a proud man and did not treat him with due respect.

The Gurkhan was facing a revolt in his eastern provinces and on the plea of suppressing the revolt Kuchluk tried to reorganise his tribe. Gurkhan, finding that Kuchluk was not playing fair, sought the help of Osman, the ruler of Samarkand. But Osman was annoyed with Gurkhan for his refusal to give him his daughter in marriage. So he preferred to come to terms with the

Shah of Khwarezm. The Gurkhan marched against him with a large army and succeeded in defeating him. But Kuchluk's revolt was successful in the east and Gurkhan had to leave Samarkand.

Not far from Balasagun in Saptanada, although Kuchluk was defeated by Gurkhan his commander, Tayan Ku, was taken captive in Taraz. Left leaderless, the Karakhitai army looted their own territory. Taking advantage of the revolt of the army, Kuchluk won over the soldiers and forced Gurkhan to surrender. However, he treated him with great consideration and respect. Kuchluk married one of Gurkhan's queens and assumed control of his kingdom, and within two years Gurkhan died.

According to Russian historians the second account is probably nearest the truth.

After the defeat of the ruler of Khwarezm, Samarkand came under the control of the Karakhitais. Thus the first revolt was crushed. The Gurkhan also did his best to win over Osman and agreed to give him his daughter in marriage. After this, Osman broke off his alliance with the Shah of Khwarezm.

The success of his expedition aganist the Kipchiaks made the Shah of Khwarezm famous. Although this was not a victory of any decisive significance, it won a great name for the Shah and he began to be known as the second Alexander.

Kuchluk

When Kuchluk took over the Gurkhan Empire, Mohammed, the Shah of Khwarezm, told him that the Gurkhan had promised him the hand of his daughter and all his treasure as dowry. But Kuchluk dismissed this as the ravings of a madman.

He turned his attention to suppressing the Muslim revolt. He first of all occupied Kulja where Buzar had set up an independent kingdom. From 1211 to 1213, he ravaged the whole of Eastern Turkestan in order to keep the Karluks in control. Inspite of the severe repression against the Muslims unleashed by Kuchluk, the Shah of Khwarezm was unable to help the Muslims of Kashgar and Khoton or even those of the northen part of Antarved.

In 1214, fearing an attack by Kuchluk on Samarkand, Mohammed advised the people of Isphajab, Shash, Fargana and Kashan to migrate to the South west.

In 1211, Chengiz's army had reached the eastern part of Saptanada. The Karluk Arsalan Khan declared his allegiance to Chengiz and caused the Karakhitai representative to be murdered.

There are other stories about Kuchluk, Shah of Khorezem and Osman, some of them are briefly mentioned below.

Tajuddin Bilga Khan was a cousin of Osman who had ruled over Utrar on behalf of the Karakhitai and who later acknowledged the suzerainty of Shah of Khwarezm. On being punished by the Shah he spent a year in Nasa where his good nature won him considerable popularity. Fearing his growing popularity, the Shah sent an assasin to murder him, while sending for Osman to offer him the hand of his daughter. Osman, however, preferred to serve under an infidel sovereign rather than under a Muslim ruler. The Shah came to learn that Osman had always been on the side of the Karakhitai and that he had oppressed the Khwarezmians. In fact, in 1212, Osman had ordered a general massacre of all the Khwarezmians in Samarkand.

To take revenge, the Shah attacked Samarkand. The town fell before him and Osman had to surrender to him completely. For three days the sack of the town continued, only the foreign quarter being spared. The Shah wished to spare the life of Osman but on the insistence of the Khwarezmian princess, who was Osman's wife, he was executed.

Mohammed, the Shah of Khwarezm, sent emissaries to Fargana and other nobles of the Turkish kingdoms, asking them to acknowledge his suzerainty and at the same time stationed an army in Isfajab to stop the advance of Kuchluk. He made Samarkand his capital and built a mosque as well as a palace in that city.

Kuchluk had many virtues both as ruler and soldier, but so far as the Muslims were concerned he was not prepared to show them mercy. That is why he became the object of hatred of all the Mussulmans of Central Asia, while Mohammed, the Shah of Khwarezm, became their hero.

Kuchluk defeated Buzar and seized his capital. When the Mongols reached that place, Kuchiuk retreated from there but not before he had executed Buzar. The Mongol commander put Sukang Tagin on the throne and sent his daughter to the harem of Chengiz Khan.

In 1221, a representative of the Chinese Emperor also resided in Almalik, Buzar's capital. His functions were (i) to take the census, (ii) to enrol recruits for the army, (iii) to keep the postal communications in order, (iv) to collect taxes and (v) to arrange for the despatch of presents to the chinese court. He was thus a military commander and a tax-collector as well. When the Mongol army reached the place, Ismail, the Gurkhan ruler of Kashan and Aksikat surrendered to the Mongols.

Chengiz gave orders to his comander Jevey Noyn to advance against Kuchluck, using Ismail as a guide. In 1219, twenty thousand Mongols reached Saptanada on their way to Kulja and Balasagun fell without any resistance. When they reached Kashgar, Jevey issued a proclamation that everyone would be free to practise his own religion. The Mongols did not sack the town, but merely made enquiries about Kuchluk. The people of Kashgar considered the advent of the Mongols as the blessing of Allah. Kuchluk fled without offering any resistance and died in Sirikul and the untold wealth of Gurkhan fell into the hands of Jevey. By proclaiming the freedom of faith the Mongols won over the Muslims of Central Asia who had been smarting under the yoke of Kuchluk. Thus by the first half of the thirteenth century a new power appeared in Central Asia, which was to found a vast and a powerful empire from the borders of China to the Sir Darya.

After merging Shiknag with Khwarezm, Mohammed sent a number of expeditions against the Kipchiaks. In one such expedition a Khwarezmian forces clashed with a section of army belonging to Chengiz. When Khwarezmshah attacked Turgui province, he learned that the Mongols were advancing towards Kungli (Kipchiak) territory in pursuit of the retreating Mergit tribe. Crossing the Irgiz River, he fought and defeated the Mergit tribe. He then advanced towards the Mongols. Their commanders, Jevey and Keval, did not want to fight Khwarezmshah. They told him that they had only come in pursuit of the Mergits and had no orders to fight against him. But the Shah replied proudly : 'I consider all "infidels" as my enemies' and forced them to fight. The battle was not decisive and before it could be resumed next day it was found that the Mongols had left under cover of the night, leaving their fires burning. However, they had fought so well and with such ferocity that Mohammed never dared challenging them on the battlefield again.

CHAPTER 21

THE SAMANIS

The Southern Zone

The Abbasi, Asad Kasri, who was Governor from 723 to 736 helped Behram Chaubin to become the ruler of Saman. Behram became a convert to Islam and named his son Asad. He had four sons, who played an important part in suppressing the revolt of Rafi. In appreciation of their services the Caliph directed Gussan, the Governor of Khurasan, to appoint the four sons, Nuh, Ahmed, Yahiya and Ilyas, Emirs of Samarkand, Fargana, Shash-Ausrushana and Hirat respectively. Gussan's successor, Tahir retained all of them in their posts and later they founded the Samani dynasty.

Their genealogical table runs as follows :

1. Nasr (875-92), 2. Ismail (893-907), 3. Ahmed (907-14), 4. Nasr II (914-42), 5. Nuh (943-54), 6. Abdul Malik (954-61), 7. Nasr III (961), 8. Mansur (961-976), 9. Nuh II (976-97), 10. Mansur II (997-99), 11. Abdul Malik II (999), 12. Muntsir Nuh Nasr.

Muwaffak, the brother of the Caliph Motmid, appointed Nasr ruler over the whole of Antarved. Thus Nasr's kingdom extended from the banks of the Vakhshu to the far east. It is not known exactly when he became independent of Khurasan.

In 874, Hussain marched from Khwarezm against Bokhara. After resisting for five days the inhabitants of the city surrendered on certain conditions. Hussain however, violated the terms of the agreement and the people rose in revolt. Hussain took shelter in the fort and under cover of night he fled leaving behind the treasure he had collected. This treasure was divided by the rebels among themselves and as a result many of the families of Bokhara became wealthy overnight. They did not succeed, however, in restoring peace and so they sought the aid of Nasr. Nasr sent his brother, Ismail, to help them and he was able to subdue Khwarezm. Ismail became the Emir of Bokhara and proved himself an able administrator and a brave soldier by suppressing in merciless fashion the dacoits and criminals who had been disturbing the peace of Bokhara. As many as four thousand of these dacoits were killed between Ramatin and Paikund alone.

From the 25th of June, the writ of Nasr began to run in Bokhara replacing that of Yakub. But within a short time Ismail became unpopular because he broke his earlier promises to the people. The landless peasants, suffering from ruthless exploitation, were forced to take to a life of brigandage and even Nasr began to suspect loyalty of his brother. In the end, to the great relief of the inhabitants of this region Nasr was forced to take action against Ismail. Nasr summoned his friend, Rafi, the ruler of Khurasan to his aid and the latter succeeded in restoring peace between the two brothers. Ishaq, another of Nasr's brother, was appointed Emir of Bokhara, while Ismail was made the Revenue Collector of the region.

In 887, however, Nasr came to learn that both Ismail and Ishaq had begun to conspire against him and so he summoned his army from Fargana and attacked them. Ismail defeated Nasr in battle but treated him with honour and allowed him to return to Samarkand, where he continued to rule in peace till his death in August 892.

Ismail

After the death of Nasr Ismail became the ruler of Antarved and Khwarezm, but he maintained his capital in Bokhara. By this time, the Abbasi Caliphs had been reduced to the status of nominal rulers who were content to distribute titles in exchange for gifts and the Caliph Motzid, duly sent letters appointing Ismail ruler of this region.

Ismail was a fanatical Muslim and he lost no time in launching a crusade against the infidels of the north. The Buddhists and Christians of Taraz put up a stout resistance, but ultimately succumbed to the superior force of Ismail and were obliged to accept Islam. Ismail converted the main Church of the city into a Mosque from which the name of the Caliph was proclaimed after the Namaz. After looting riches from the city he returned to Bokhara. But the Saffar Emir Amr also had his eyes on Antarved. So Ismail was forced to send an army against him, which surrounded Balakh. Amr was taken prisoner and sent in chains to the Caliph who rewarded Ismail by making him Satrap of Khurasan, Turkestan, Antarved, Sindh and Jurzan.

During the reign of Ismail peace prevailed in the kingdom and separate Emirs were appointed for each town in this region. The war against the northern infidels was also continued.

Ismail not only brought peace to Bokhara but also prosperity. He took steps to beautify the town and many of his buildings of fine architecture still exist. For a long time Bokhara was the cultural centre of the East since it gave birth to many poets, philosophers and religious teachers.

Apart from Bokhara, his capital, Merv, Tehran, Neshpor, Amul, Multan, Hirat and Balakh also became flourishing cities. Ismail died in 907.

His son Ahmed inherited a vast and well-administered empire, but he had to face growing threat from the Dailmi dynasty in the west which was making a bid to extend its rule over the whole country.

Ministers played quite an important role in the Samani Empire. Most of them were Turks, as were most of the army officers. It was probably due to their influence that Ahmed took the decision to replace Persian by Arabic, although Persian was the popular language as well as that of the court. This was one of the factors that contributed to his growing unpopularity, which at last assumed such serious proportions that in 914 he was murdered by some of his own slaves.

Ahmed's reign will be remembered in history because of the great Islamic scholar, Abdulla Bokhari, who lived in this period. His world Hadis-Jame-As-Sahib, is still regarded by Muslims all over the world as being authoritative and of great importance. The great Persian poet, Abul Hasan Rud also lived and wrote in this period.

Another great contemporary of them in the Islamic world was the philosopher, Pharabi (870-950). Before him, Islamic scholars had confined their efforts to translation, but now the Islamic world began to produce its own philosophers—the greatest among whom being Pharabi. Just as Kindi was the philosopher of Baghdad, so was Pharabi that of Bokhara. His full name was Abu Nasr Alpharabi and he was born at a place called Vasiz, in the district of Pharab. His father, Mohammed, had been the keeper of a fortress and was probably of Turkish origin.

Pharabi was a man of independent ideas which he acquired from the various influences at work within the country. It has to be kept in mind that in spite of all the efforts of the Arabs and other Muslim rulers, Islam had not yet spread to the whole of Central Asia. Christianity, Buddhism and Nestorianism were still very much alive in these regions. Pharabi received his education in such towns as Samarkand and Bokhara and was also for some time a disciple of the Christian scholar, John. Besides philosophy, Pharabi was well versed in mathematics, astrology, literature and medicine and he even wrote a treatise on Music. He is reported to have been a master of seventy languages. Turkish was his mother tongue, but Persian was the language spoken in the land of his birth, while Arabic, being the language of Islam, was naturally mastered by him. Besides this he knew Suriyani, Itrani and Greek, as well as other languages.

Pharabi lived for many years in Baghdad and Aleppo, where he was a great favourite of the ruler, Saifudaula. The Sufis, the Greek Sophists, and Buddhist monks, all had their influence on Pharabi. He died in Damascus at the age of eighty.

Any country would take pride in thinkers like Pharabi and Bu Ali

Sina. Soviet Uzbekistan and Tazikistan are doing all they can to honour these great sons of theirs. Their works are being collected and research workers are writing commentaries on them. Many of their writings have been published, while modern Soviet poets have composed songs in praise of these noble sons of Central Asia.

Europe owes debt of gratitude to these Arab thinkers, because it is through them that Europe became acquainted with the thoughts of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, which led to the Great Renaissance. Pharabi's contribution to the revival of Aristotle's thought is invaluable. The sequence and arrangement of his writings as made by Pharabi in the course of his research, are still followed throughout the world. Pharabi has written a number of commentaries on Aristotle's Dialectics, Metaphysics, Ethics and Politics, as well as on other aspects of his philosophy.

Nasr II

From the time of Nasr another rival Iranian dynasty had begun to take its root in the west, the Dailmi, which was linked by ties of marriage with the Samani dynasty.

Nasr was succeeded by his son Nuh I who had an uneventful reign.

Next came Abdul Malik, the son of Nuh. Only one event of importance took place during his reign. This was the foundation of the Ghaznavi dynasty by Alp Tagin, a Turkish officer in the Samani court. In December 956, Alp Tagin killed an important Samani dignitary, Bakar, the son of Malik. The Samani court thereupon replaced Alp Tagin by Abu Mansur, who had been Governor of Tus. Alp Tagin fled to Ghazni where he set up a new dynasty in 962.

Subuk Tagin, a Turkish slave, who had been brought from Neshpor by Alp Tegin, proved to be a man of great ability. His talents were recognised and in 977 Alp Tagin's successor surrendered his throne to him. Subuk Tagin won considerable fame due to his conquests in Afghanistan and India. His son Mehmud Ghaznavi subsequently succeeded in bringing about the downfall of the Samani dynasty.

Mansur I

Abdul Malik was succeeded by his son Nasr III, but as he died shortly after his accession, Mansur, the brother of Abdul Malik, became the ruler of the Samani Empire. He married the grand-daughter of the Dailmi ruler, Ruknudaula. Alp Tagin, who was at this time Governor of Khurasan refused to accept Mansur as his Emir and entrenched himself in Ghazni. Mansur and Alp Tagin both died in the year 976.

Nuh II

As soon as Nuh came to the throne, Subuk Tagin, who was supporting Alp Tagin's successor, crossed the Vakshu and attacked the Samani Empire. Nuh and Subuk Tagin met in Kish where Subuk Tagin decided to accept Nuh as his sovereign and to take the oath of loyalty. In return, Nuh handed over the provinces of Nasa and Abivard to Subuk, but these province were being administered by Abu Ali, who, while agreeing to give up Nasa, refused to hand over Abivard. Nuh marched against him and with the help of Subuk Tagin, won a decisive victory. The Samani court conferred the title of "Nasruddinudaula" on Subuk and "Saifudaula" on his son, Mehmud, who was also made Governor of Khurasan. He later succeeded in annexing Khwarezm by imprisoning its ruler, Abu Ali.

Thus the Ghaznavis became a powerful force in the south of the Samani Empire. Meanwhile, the Karakhani Nomads began their raids from the north and eventually Nuh was left in direct control only of a small part of Antarved. Feeling too weak to face these attacks alone, he appealed for help to Subuk Tagin who marched in with a large army. Subuk Tagin sent word that Nuh should meet him in Kish, but as Nuh's minister, Abdulla thought it beneath his master's dignity he declined. At this Subuk Tagin felt insulted and sent his sons Mehmud and Bugurachuk to teach Nuh a lesson. Nuh immediately climbed down and accepted all the demands of Subuk Tagin, including the dismissal of his minister Abdulla, who was handed over to Subuk in chains. In his place, Subuk's man, Abu Nasr Ahmed was installed.

Subuk Tagin decided not to fight the Karakhanis, but to come to a settlement with them. The Katwan desert was agreed upon as the border between the Samani Empire and Karakhani territory and Phayak was made Governor of Samarkand. Thus Subuk Tagin was now master of the area south of the Vakhshu, while Khurasan had already slipped out of the hands of the Samanis.

On the 23rd of July 997, Nuh II breathed his last.

Bu Ali Sina (980-1037)

Bu Ali Sina was a thinker who contributed to the development of Islamic thought to its highest pinnacle. He was a contemporary of the philosopher Maskavia, the great poet Firdausi and also of the great scholar and traveller, Albarauni. Sina actually met Maskavia while he carried on a correspondence with Albarauni. He was born in Aphsan near Bokhara in 980, and his full name was Abu Ali Al Hussain Yaand Abdulla Ibn Sina. He received his early education at home and derived inspiration from the writings of Pharabi. Like Pharabi, Sina's birthplace was in Uzbekistan.

Sina was born in a family of free thinkers and he has written that from his childhood he was used to hearing his father and uncle discussing Greek philosophy.

After completing his preliminary education, Sina made a special study of philosophy and medicine. When only seventeen years of age he was successful in curing Nuh II of a serious disease and this resulted in securing free access for him to the court library. With regard to this library he wrote in later years : "I entered a building with many rooms. Each room had heaps of books stacked in piles. There was a room full of books on Arabic literature and poetry, another room full of law books. Each room was a storehouse of knowledge pertaining to some branch of science. There were rare books in that collection the names of which no one had heard. I had never come across such a collection earlier nor did I ever see its equal afterwards. I took full advantage of this opportunity and began to appreciate the relative importance of the various sciences". There is a story current that Sina destroyed this collection so that others might not share the fruits of this knowledge, but this does not appear to be credible. It does not fit in with the character of Sina nor does it seem likely that the Samani ruler, Nuh, would have permitted such a thing.

What really happened was that these books were scattered throughout Central Asia, so that many were lost in the course of time. It is indeed only since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 that an attempt has been made to restore the collection. The Taskent library, which had only five hundred manuscripts before the Revolution, has now fifty thousand and their catalogue runs into several volumes. The work of printing these valuable manuscripts has also been taken up by the authorities.

As has been said Sina's patron, Nuh II, died in 997, by which time the Samani empire had begun to disintegrate and the Karakhanis having infiltrated right up to Bokhara. Sina could hardly have looked for any encouragement in his research from these barbarian nomads and in fact he had to go from court to court in search of employment and was given small posts as writer or teacher. Ultimately, he became a minister under the ruler of Hamdan, but when the latter died he was thrown into prison. After his release he took his employment under Alaudaula, the King of Aphsan, and when Alaudaula conquered Hamdan, he again moved to that city and it was there that he died at the age of 57 in the year 1037. His grave it still preserved in Hamdan, which, be it noted, was the first capital of the earliest Iranian dynasty, the Madra dynasty.

Sina did not write commentaries or notes on the Greek philosophers. "There is no dearth of commentaries," he would say, "what is needed is independent thinking based on their works." He gave expression to his conclusions in his works "Shafa" (medicine), "Isharat" (signs) and "Najat" (freedom). From the age of twenty seven till his death he did not waste a single moment. He used to spend the whole day doing official work or teaching students and the whole night, pen in hand, producing his great works. Sina had such command over language that he wrote books of science, medicine and law in verse. He was equally at home in Arabic and Persian and wrote poems in both the languages. Spontaneity and simplicity were the essence of his peotic style.

Mansur II (997-999)

Control of his administration at first lay in the hands of his minister, Abdul Muzaffar Mohammed Vargashi. Later it was taken over by the army commander, Phayak. Abu Mohammed Ishijabi had then been ruling over Antarved but when he was threatened by Abdul, who had escaped from prison, he revolted and sought help from the Karakhani ruler, Ilik Nasr Khan, whose father, Bogra Khan Haroun had once marched to Bokhara in 992 in an attempt to conquer Antarved. This time, when Ilik Nasr came to Samarkand at the invitation of the rebels, Mansur fled from the capital to Amul, but Phayak decided to remain loyal to the Samani dynasty. He reconquered Bokhara and installed Mansur as ruler once again. Beg Tujun was appointed commander of Khurasan.

Mansur tried to effect a reconciliation between Phayak and Beg Tujun, but Phayak secretly instigated the ruler of Kohistan, Abul Kasim to attack Beg Tujun. Beg Tujun succeeded in defeating his opponents and in July he marched into Bokhara. By this time Phyak and the minister Vargashi were at loggerheads. Mansur tried to patch up the quarrel, but Phayak was adamant and in the end Vargashi was banished to Bujgan.

The most serious problem that confronted the Samani court was the quarrel between Beg Tujun and Mehmud Ghaznavi. Mehmud had become master of Ghazna after defeating his brother. Meanwhile, Khurasan had become the satrapy of Beg Tujun, but Mehmud was not prepared to renounce his claim. Mansur tried to pacify him by offering him Termiz, Balakh and Chirag, but Mehmud would agree to nothing less than the whole of Khurasan. When he attacked Beg Tujun and forced him to leave Neshpor, Beg Tujun and Phayak suspected Mansur of complicity with Mehmud Ghaznavi. Mansur was, therefore, deposed from the throne of Samarkand, had his eyes gouged out and was sent to Bokhara.

Abdul Malik

After Mansur, Abulfavarish Abdul Malik was proclaimed Emir. Mehmud Ghaznavi now apprehended serious danger because of the united strength of his rivals which was further reinforced by Abul Kasim Simzori. All his efforts to arrive at a settlement with them having failed, he gathered all his forces and succeeded in defeating his rivals, and took possession of Khurasan. The Caliph, Kadir wrote to Mehmud asking him to acknowledge his suzerainty pointing out that it was their refusal to recognise the Caliph that had led to the downfall of the Samanis. Abdul Malik and Phayak fled to Bokhara followed by Beg Tujun. Phayak died that very summer. Ilik Nasr put an end to the Samani dynasty by throwing Abdul Malik and many other Samani princes into prison.

Muntsir

Even when the last blows were being dealt against their dynasty, the Samani princes were quarrelling amongst themselves. This gave Ilik Nasr an opportunity to occupy Bokhara without opposition. Ismail, the brother of Mansur II, attempted to resists but was taken prisoner and sent to Uzgand. He managed to escape however, disguised as a woman. In 999, the Karakhanis succeeded in crushing all opposition, but were unable to re-capture Ismail.

In the beginning, the Sogdhians did not side with the Samani rulers, but later some of them changed their minds and began to support Ismail, who assumed the title of Muntsir, the victor. Muntsir was soon able to collect an army, which was placed under the command of a Turk, Arsalan Yalu. Yalu was successful in defeating the Karakhani Governor of Bokhara and the remnants of the Karakhani army fled to Samarkand, where they tried to take a stand with the help of its governor, Tagin Khan. Here too, however, they had to suffer a defeat. After this, Ilik himself marched at the head of a large army against Muntsir and Yalu and forced them to flee to Iran. In Khurasan, Muntsir was obliged to contend against Nasr, the brother of Mehmud Ghaznavi, but here again he proved unsuccessful. Muntsir held his commander, Yalu, responsible for his repeated defeats and put him to death. Meanwhile, Nasr destroyed the remnants of Muntsir's army.

Muntsir now fled to Antarved, where he succeeded in converting the Guz Yuvgu to Islam and with his help he was able to inflict a defeat on Ilik Khan near Samarkand in 1003. As many as eighteen officers of Ilik's army were taken prisoner by the Guz, but as they did not hand them over to Muntsir the latter began to suspect that the Guz were about to enter into a pact with the enemy. He therefore left them and fled across the Vakhshu with a small contingent of 300 mounted and 400 foot-soldiers and sought shelter of the ruler of Khwarezm but was refused. Once again, in his attempt to take Nasa and Abivard, a battle was fought in Bokhara, where he was defeated.

Fortune now however began to favour him. The Sogdhians had launched a crusade for the re-establishment of their ancient dynasties. The leader of these crusaders in Samarkand, the son of Alamdar, came over to Muntsir. The Guz, too, repenting their past actions, joined hands with him. With these forces Muntsir succeeded in defeating Ilik Khan at Burnamaz in May-June 1004. But this victory proved shortlived for Ilik gathered his resources and reinforcements from the north and again faced Muntsir in the desert between Jizak and Khawas. The Guz, more interested in the sacking of the Burnamaz, did not take part in the battle, and one of Muntsir's officers having deserted him with a part of the army, Muntsir again had to flee towards Khurasan. As he was advancing towards Bokhara, his soldiers deserted him and surrendered to Ilik's officers, while the remains of his army were surrounded and wiped out on the banks of the Vakhshu. With great difficulty Muntsir managed to escape, taking with him only eight of his trusted followers. In 1005 the chieftain of an Arab tribe betrayed him and he was killed. Thus did the Samani dynasty come to an end.

The Administrative System of the Samanis

The Arab administration in Central Asia followed the pattern set up by the Sasanis. The Caliph was the Supreme Ruler responsible to God alone. The Samanis accepted the suzerainty of the Caliph and never laid any claims to sovereignty. The charter issued to them by the Caliphs conferred only limited rights on the Samani rulers. Iranian tradition enjoined upon all rulers to look after the interests of their subjects and they devoted considerable attention to building canals, waterways, viaducts, bridges, forts, roads and townships and in beautifying their cities with architectural monuments.

Their administration was divided into two main parts 1. Dargah, 2. Dewan.

1. Dargah. Ever since the time of Ismail the practice had been in vogue of importing slaves to act as armed bodyguards of the ruler, but military service was not confined to them alone. The sons of local nobles as well as peasant families were also called upon to serve in the army. In fact, during the period of the Samani dynasty the majority of the people of Central Asia were armed and took part in wars and rebellions.

Talented Turkish youths who were specially purchased as slaves for military service were given training on the following lines, as laid down by the Selzuki minister, Nizamulmulk :

(i) In the first year they were trained as ordinary infantrymen, taught how to look after horses and given coarse clothes to wear.

(ii) In the second year they were given a uniform and a horse to ride.

(iii) After the third year's training the slaves were provided with a special waistband.

Thus it went on. In the fifth year they were given more expensive clothes and in the sixth, a special uniform for parade on ceremonial occasions. After the seventh, the slave would be given the rank of camp commander, three orderlies to serve under him and a black felt cap embroidered with silver thread. Later on the slave could become a section commander, or even a full commander.

(iv) The Supreme Chief of the army was called Hajiba Buzurg, and was given a rank equal to that of the leading courtiers.

(v) Other posts in this department were those of Gate Warder, Chief Steward, Cup bearer, etc.

Among the Samanis, Provincial Governors were mostly selected from the ruling family, but occasionally the slaves rose to high posts, as for instance, Simzori, Alp Tagin, Tash and Phayak. They were not given these posts before attaining the age of thirty five.

2. **Dewan.** The buidings that housed the civil administrators stood on the maidan known as Registan. The civil administrators were : 1. The Minister, 2. The Treasurer, 3. The Aide-de-Camp, 4. The Chief Warder, 5. The Post Master, 6. The Chief Justice, 7. The Dewan Musharif, 8. The Dewan Khas, who looked after the personal estate of the Emir.

1. The Minister was Chief of the bureaucracy. Jauhani, Balami and Uthi, were among the important Samani ministers.

2. Kaziul Kuzzat. He was the Chief Justice of the entire kingdom. The provinces had similar judges, who were known as "Hakims".

3. The Mullahs, or priests, acquired considerable influence with the spread of Islam. Abu Abdulla was the Chief of the Mullahs. The Chief Mullah was known at first as "Ustad", later as "Muphti", and later still as "Shakulislam". Teachers were known as "Danishmand". The Governor was called "Vali".

4. Local dynasties. There were a number of noble families with considerable local influence. The most important of these were in Khwarezm, Isphajab and Swagnan.

(a) Khwarezm : The early rulers of Khwarezm considered their dynasty to be very old. After the Arab conquest they grew weak and split into two, the southern part having its capital in Kat and being ruled over by the Shah of Khwarezm ; that of the north having its capital in Gurganj and a ruler known as the Emir. In 995, the Emir of Gurganj conquered Kat and assumed the title of Shah of Khwarezm.

(b) Isphajab : The ruling dynasty of this place was also an ancient dynasty which paid an annual tax of four coins and a broomstick to their nominal sovereign. Its influence extended over an area east of Sir Darya and west of Saptanada, which became part of the Samani Empire.

(c) Swagnan : Their rulers had been known in ancient times as Swagan Khudat, but after their conversion to Islam they began to call themselves Emirs. The ruling dynasty of Swagnan continued to exist even after the fall of the Samani Empire.

(d) Khuttal : The ruler of Khuttal was known as Khuttalan Shah, or Sher Khuttalan. The ruling family claimed descent from Behram Gor, who ruled in the 5th century A. D.

The nobles of the Samani cities were known as "Rais" i. e. the wealthy people.

3. Trade and Industry

During the period with which we are now dealing the towns were famous for the following articles :

Termiz : Soap and boats.

Bokhara : Fine garments, carpets, copper lamps, saddles, fat, scented oils, meat and melons.

Karminiya : Handkerchiefs.

Dabusiya : Coloured cloth.

Ravinjan : Red felt, drinking cups, leather, sulphur and matting.

Khwarezm : Furs and skins of various kinds, wax, eating vessels, long Sumerian caps, amber, swords, amulets, slaves. Many of these goods were imported from Siberia, Bulgaria and other places. Fruits, such as grapes, raisins, almonds, etc., were also to be had in plenty. Striped satin cloth for presentation, carpets and blankets, cheese, yeast and fish, were all to be had here. Boats made in Termiz were marketed in Khwarzem.

Samarkand : Brocade, large copper vessels, artistically designed cups, tents, bridles for horses, clothes of all kinds, silken garments, and paper. The Arabs learnt paper-making from the Chinese, who had discovered the art in the second century after Christ. By the tenth century, Samarkand paper had replaced the leather writing parchment from all the Muslim countries.

Jizak : Soft wool and woollen cloths.

Barakat : Turkish cloths.

Shash : Leather jackets, tents robes, leather caps, decorated bows, stiching needles and scissors, Chinese porcelain.

Isphajab and Fargana : White cloths, weapons, copper, iron and Turkish slaves.

Taraz : Goat skins.

Shalzi : Silver.

Turkestan : Horses and mules.

Khutta : Horses and mules.

Antarved, the area between the Vakhshu and the Sir Darya, did not depend on other countries either for articles of necessity or for luxury goods because, as a result of Chinese influence the development of its industries had taken place rapidly. At first, mainly Chinese imports were to be found in the markets, but with the development of local industry the influx of Chinese articles declined. Silk and cotton from Jarphasan were famous throughout the Muslim world and Metal goods, especially the weapons of war made in Fargana, were in great demand in Baghadad. Even hard coke was to be had here. In the Second century after Christ, the Chinese traveller Chang Kyan, wrote of this region : "Here are to be found mountains of black stone which burns like wood." The existence of coal gave a great fillip to the development of metallurgy. Chinese and Egyptian influence played a great part in the development of the art and industry of Antarved. The melons of Khwarezm, packed in ice, were exported to Baghdad for the use of the Caliphs. A melon that reached there in good condition was valued at 700 dirhams.

The Northern Nomads exchanged their animals and hides for cloth and other articles. Caravans from Khwarezm travelled to Khurasan in the south, across the Volga and the Caspian in the west, just as they went to the nomad territories in the north. Khwarezmian merchants amassed wealth and property in all the towns of Khurasan and took great interest in the development of culture and learning. It was in the household of a Khwarezmian merchant that Albarauni was born and brought up.

Wages : A worker in a coppersmith's shop is reported to have been paid 15 dirhams a month. This, however, is no indication of the actual wage-rates prevailing then.

Taxes : The income of the Samani Empire amounted to about four-and-a half crores of dirhams. Expenditure was confined mainly to maintenance of the army and its officers, which rose up to a sum of two crores of dirhams annually. The expenditure of the Samanis was so heavy that they ultimately imposed death duties.

Land Relations : Land was divided up into huge estates owned by feudal lords. The Simzore family owned the whole of Kohistan and the Turkish slave, Alp Tagin owned five hundred villages in Khurasan and Antarved. He also possessed a palace, a garden, a caravansary and a bath, in every town.

Other Taxes : Taxes were levied on streams and land. Horses which were taken to the Amu Darya for use of its water were taxed two dirhams and their riders one dirham. Deeds registering the purchase of Turkish slaves were bought for as much as seven thousand dirhams. Turkish women slaves however could be bought and sold without any such deeds.

CHAPTER 22

KARAKHANI

Karakhani administrators who ruled over various provinces, assumed high sounding titles and issued coins bearing their imprint. Their kingdoms were often unstable and it is difficult to say exactly which of these rulers exercised control over Saptanada, and which over Antarved and the Terim valley. We give below an account of the rulers who ruled over some part or other of the Southern Zone of Central Asia.

Bogra Khan Haroun

It is not clear who succeeded as chief of the Karakhani tribe after the death of Bogra Khan Haroun, though it may have been Arsalan Khan Ali, the father of Ilik Nasr. Among the nomads, all property including their kingdom, was looked upon as belonging to the family. That is why nomadic kingdoms were divided into parts, each one of which was ruled over by different members of the ruling family. This often resulted in the local rulers defying the authority of the centre. Constant friction and strife were inevitable in such conditions and they led to a quick change of rulers. That is why it is difficult also to ascertain who exactly exercised central authority.

Many Karakhani coins have been found, but the use of different titles on the same or similar coins makes it difficult to say whether they were issued by the same or different rulers. The problem is rendered even more complex by reason of the fact that different members of the ruling dynasty in east and west Turkestan issued their own coins.

Ilik Nasr

The Samani commander, Phayak, had taken shelter with Ilik Nasr Khan when Nuh and Subuk Tagin joined hands to drive the Karakhanis out of Antarved. Nuh's successor, Mansur was a coward, while Subuk's heir, Mehmud Ghaznavi, was a great warrior. In 996, the Karakhani attacks started. Nuh, who was in control of only a small part of Antarved, dared not facing Ilik alone so he sent for Subuk Tagin, who arrived with a large army, which included the Emirs of Guzar and Swagnan. Subuk Tagin gradually managed to take over the control of the Samani Empire and succeeded in having his agent installed as the Minister. He then decided to come to terms with the Karakhanis. By this time Subuk Tagin had become master of the entire Vakhshu valley, and even Khurasan had slipped out of Nuh's hands.

In 999, Phayak died. Ilik Khan wanted no Samani territory to be existing between his kingdom and Mahmud's. Mansur was made blind and sent to Bokhara and Abdul Malik II was now installed as the Emir. As the threat of Ilik Khan's attack on Bokhara grew imminent, there was a commotion in the town. The people were asked to take up arms and fight, but the Samanis had become unpopular. As feudal rulers and as Sunnis, they looked down upon the common people with contempt. They, therefore, tried to crush the Shiya movement, which at this time reflected the democratic aspirations of the oppressed nation. It was for this reason that the people decided to side with Ilik who was thus helped to enter the town and to loot the treasury of the Samanis. Abdul Malik and other members of the royal family were sent as prisoners to Uzgand, while Ilik Khan's agents were appointed as governors of Bokhara and Samarkand.

The first great Iranian Muslim dynasty had now come to an end. During the period of their rule Persian culture and art had flourished, but regardless of this fact the people, who, after their conversion to Islam gave greater importance to Islam than to national sentiments, welcomed the Karakhanis, saying : "After all they are also Muslims !"

Ibrahim Bari Tagin (1041)

Bari Tagin, who till 1041 had been a vassal of Bogra Khan, took advantage of the weakness of the Ghaznavis and declared himself independent. Samarkand coins, dated 1046, bear the inscription : "Imaduddaula Tajulmillat Saif-Khilafatulla Tamgach Khan Ibrahim." Bogra Khan had also used the Chinese Imperialist title of Tamgach Khan. Bari Tagin, in addltion to assuming this title, styled himself "King of the east and China", while his son called himself, "Sultan of the east and China", although neither of them was able to extend his territory beyond the Antarved. Ibrahim (Bari Tagin), owed his success to the internal strife in which the Karakhanis were embroiled.

Ibrahim II (son of Ilik) (1059)

Ibrahim Tamgach Khan was an extremely devout Muslim, and his father had also lived a simple life. Ibrahim Tamgach Khan did not draw any allowance for himself from the royal treasury, nor did he tax any Muslim without the consent of the priests. A priest once said to him that he was not worthy to be a Sultan, whereupon he immediately decided to renounce his kingdom and it was only with great difficulty that he was persuaded to remain as ruler.

The Karakhanis were a more cultured race than the Selzuks, because they had come into contact with civilised peoples like the Chinese and the Uigurs. Tamgach Khan first turned his attention to restoring peace throughout his kingdom. Criminals were given no quarter. On one occasion some criminals hung a challenge on the gates of the town, which read ; "We are like onions. The more you trim us the more we shall grow." Tamgach had the following inscribed below this : "I am the gardener. The more you grow the more I shall strive to root you out."

On one occasion, the Khan asked his courtiers to find a bandit chief. "I will spare his life so that he may serve me and collect men for me." Such a man was found. He had four sons, all of whom were gorgeously apparelled. At the bidding of the Sultan he collected three hundred bandits to serve under him. But the Sultan had arrested all of them and they, together with their leader and his sons, were put to death. This created such a panic in the area that no one even dared picking up a dropped coin off the streets.

Another story told about him is this. He fixed the price of meat and declared that no one might charge more. The butchers offered him a purse of a thousand dinars and requested him to increase the price. The Sultan accepted the purse and agreed to increase the price, but at the same time issued a proclamation that anyone found purchasing meat would be sentenced to death. The butchers beat a retreat and agreed to sell at the price that had originally been fixed. The Khan said to them "Did you think I would sell my people for a thousand dinars ?"

Ibrahim came into conflict with the Mullahs too, because they oppressed the people and he had one of the most famous of them, Mullah Imam Kasim, put to death. This, however, made him even more popular with the people.

Before he died, Ibrahim placed his son Shamsulmulk, on the throne but his second son immediately revolted. The two brothers fought against each other in Samarkand and Bokhara. Shamsulmulk managed to emerge victorious from the conflict.

There is record of one Ibrahim having died in 1079 in the battle against Alp Arsalan, but it is unlikely that he was Tamgach Khan Ibrahim.

Shamsulmulk (1068-80)

The war with the Selzuks continued during his reign. In 1072, Alp Arsalan the Selzuk, invaded Antarved, but he was assassinated that very year by the keeper of his fortress. In the winter of the same year, Shamsulmulk conquered Termiz and entered Balakh. Ayaz, the son of

Arsalan, who had been governor of Balakh, fled from the city and some of his soldiers attacked the Turkish army to cover their retreat. Shamsulmulk threatened to set fire to the city, but out of pity for the supplications of the citizens, agreed to spare it, exacting instead a huge sum from its inhabitants.

In 1073, Ayaz returned to Balakh and made an unsuccessful attempt to reoccupy Termiz, losing a large part of his army in the process. The following year, Malik Shah Selzuki managed to occupy Termiz and launched an attack against Samarkand. Shamsulmulk was forced to sue for peace. At the intervention of the famous Selzuk minister Nizamulmulk, peace was negotiated between the two and Malik Shah returned to Khurasan.

Shamsulmulk was also engaged in wars with Tugral Karakhan Yusuf and Bogra Khan Huroun, the sons of the Kashgar Khan Kadir Yusuf. But with them too agreement was ultimately reached. Shamsulmulk agreed to hand over to them Fargana as well as the part of Antarved lying beyond the Sir Darya. Khojend was accepted as the limit of his territory.

Like his father, Shamsulmulk was famous for his sense of justice and fair play. He lived the life of a nomad taking up his quarters in Bokhara during the winter only. He saw to it that his soldiers did not oppress the people. All the Karakhani rulers did their best to beautify the towns and some of the buildings erected by Shamsulmulk, such as the royal guest houses built near Khurjung village and in Al Kutal, on the route from Samarkand to Khojend, are considered the finest of this period.

Shamsulmulk could not get on well with his Mullahs either, and in 1071, he had one of them executed in Bokhara.

Khijr Khan (1080)

After Shamsulmulk, his brother Khijr assumed control of the kingdom. Not very much is known about Khijr, except that during his reign Samarkand prospered greatly and that he was a learned man and a great patron of arts. He arranged contests for poets and awarded fabulous prizes to the winners. He probably ruled for one year only and was succeeded by his son Ahmed.

Ahmed (1095)

During the reign of Ahmed, the quarrel with the Mullas took such a serious turn that it gave an opportunity to the Selzuks to intervene. Soon after he assumed power, Ahmed ordered the execution of his Chief Priest and his Minister. But the new Minister excited the wrath of the people because of his oppressive nature. One of the condemned priests appealed for help to the Selzuk, Malik Shah, who gladly gave it and succeeded in taking Bokhara (1079). The Selzuk army marched to Samarkand, where with the help of its people Malik Shah succeeded in taking Ahmed prisoner. Continuing his victorious march he reached Uzgand and as his prestige had risen by now to great heights, the Karakhani Khan of Kashgar immediately accepted his overlordship and started issuing coins in his name. Appointing a governor to rule over Samarkand, Malik returned to Khurasan.

The Jikli tribe which formed a part of the Karakhani army had aided Malik Shah, but for some reason they became dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to them by him and the moment he left Samarkand they revolted and attacked the city. He returned to Samarkand and was helped by the circumstances that the army of Yakub who was now ruling over Samarkand, revolted against the latter and joined hands with Malik. He then proceeded to Uzgand, but finding that the Karakhani rulers were deeply embroiled in their internecine quarrels, he felt that he could safely return to Khurasan after appointing Ahmed as the ruler on his behalf.

Ahmed had, however, come under the influence of the Shiyas during his sojourn in Iran. This aroused the ire of his priests, who excited the army to revolt against him. In the end, Ahmed was taken prisoner, made to stand his trial as a heretic, and the court ordered his execution.

The rebels placed Ahmed's cousin, Masoud Khan on the throne, but he only ruled for a short time.

Kadir (1095-1102) became the next ruler, but he was immediately faced with a revolt led by the governor of Khurasan, Sanjar Selzuk in the course of which he was killed.

By 1097 Burkiyaruk Selzuk was ruling over the whole of Antarved and he appointed Suleiman Tagin, Mahmud Tagin and Haroun Tagin, as governors of Antarved one after another. They were all of Karakhani families and Suleiman Tagin was the grand son of Tamgach Khan Ibrahim.

Mahmud Tagin (1102-1130)

Suleiman Mahmud Tagin was sent from Merv and he assumed the title of Arsalan Khan when he took over the reins of administration. Before long, he had to deal with the rebellion of Shagir Beg, a Karakhani prince, but with the help of Sanjar, he succeeded in crushing the revolt. After this, peace reigned in Antarved for thirty years.

Arsalan was a great builder of monuments and his contribution to the architecture of Bokhara and other places, was greater than that of any Karakhani ruler.

To prove his devotion to Islam, Arsalan launched a crusade against the Kipchiak "infidels". As the nomads in their Buddhist and Christian periods, had been priest-ridden, they continued to maintain a large number of priests even after their conversion to Islam. Arsalan Khan was a devotee of the Samani priest of Bokhara, 'Namdaposh' (felt-wearer), who lived for years on fruits and herbs.

Although a great patron of Sufis and saints, Arsalan came into frequent conflict with the Mullas. Unlike the Sufis or the Buddhist priests, the Mullahs were both selfish and bigoted. Imam Saffar Khan was as pompous as his father, and he too brought charges of heresy against the Sultan, whereupon Sanjar, Tagin's protector, ordered his banishment to Merv.

During his last days Arsalan was afflicted with paralysis. He, therefore, placed the administration in the hands of his young son. A revolt of the priestly order, led by Ashraf, who claimed descent from Ali, was suppressed by the young ruler with the help of Sanjar.

Arsalan soon regretted having sought the help of Sanjar, and tried to get him assassinated, but the plot was foiled. Sanjar took possession of Samarkand and, being furious with Arsalan, said: "I put this nameless person on the throne, I banished his rivals to Khurasan and supported him with my army for seventeen years. But all this time he oppressed the people, he killed the descendents of the Prophet, he destroyed the families of our ancient nobility and on the slightest suspicion, he ordered the execution of people and confiscated their wealth."

By the time the Sultan returned to Balakh, Arsalan died and was buried in the compound of the school which he himself had helped to build.

Sanjar did not consider it wise to take over the administration of Antarved himself because, for centuries it had been ruled over by the Turks. He, therefore, put Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim, a brother of Arsalan, on the throne. Thus the Karakhani rulers of Antarved were reduced to the status of puppets of the Selzuks. Abul Malik Hasan, known as Hasan Tagin, also ruled for some time as a powerless puppet.

Rukunu Jalaluddin Mohammed, the son of Arsalan, also sat for a few days on the Karakhani throne and as a favourite of Sanjar he was made ruler of Kashgar after Sanjar had conquered the place.

Sanjar's victory over Kashgar welded the whole of Muslim Asia into one Empire, but, just at this time, a powerful new race of people, the Karakhitais appeared from the east, and ousting the Muslim rulers brought Central Asia under the domination of "infidels" for a century.

Coins

A large number of Karakhani coins have been discoverd. Every ruler and governor, small or big, issued his own coins. However, there is such a confusion of names and titles that they do not help us very much in reconstructing the history of the period. According to the researches of the Soviet numismatist, Dorn, Antarved was conquered by two brothers the elder of whom was Nasirulhuq Nasr and the younger, Kutubuddaula Ahmed. After the death of Nasr, the throne was occupied by Ahmed and coins issued by them with dates up to 1016 have been found.

Coins issued in the name of Arsalan Khan, dating up to 1012, have also been found in Bokhara.

CHAPTER 23

THE GHAZNAVIS

The Origin

Mahmud Ghaznavi raided deep into the heart of India and sacked Benares, Kalinjar and Somnath. But it was only over the Punjab that he succeeded in setting up a stable administration. As far as the rest of India was concerned he was only interested in looting its wealth. His main strength lay in Iran, Central Asia and Afghanistan, from where he organised his raids.

We get a vivid picture of the history of the Ghaznavi dynasty from the famous book 'Siyatnama', written by Nizamulmulk, the Minister of the Selzuk Sultan, Malik Shah. This book can be compared to the 'Arthshastra' of Kautilya.

The Siyatnama gives the following account of the origin of the Ghaznavi dynasty :

Alp Tagin, the founder of the Ghaznavi dynasty, was purchased as a slave by Ismail, the Samani ruler. After long long years of service under the Samanis, Alp Tagin was promoted in his old age to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of Khurasan. In the seventh year of the rule of Mansur of the Samanis, Alp Tagin fell into disfavour, and Mansur's courtiers advised him to set a trap for Alp Tagin by inviting him to his palace and then having him murdered.

Alp Tagin was beforehand warned, however, by some of his agents and he marched with his army from Neshapor to Surakhsh. There he called all his lieutenants and told them of the plot. His lieutenants and Emirs were all in favour of retaliation, but Alp Tagin would not listen to them. Having served his master faithfully all his life, he was not prepared to turn against him in his old age. He told them that he preferred to draw his sword against the infidels. "I would much rather go to Hindusthan and engage myself in a holy war against the infidels. If I die I shall become a martyr. If I succeed, I shall make the land of the infidels, a land of Islam."

No one believed that Alp Tagin would actually leave Khurasan, where he had built a huge estate for himself and where he had amassed considerable wealth and property, including palaces, gardens, innumerable sheep, horses and camels.

But Alp Tagin was determined to proceed with his plan. He first went to Kabul, where he defeated its ruler and took his son, Loyak, prisoner. But exhibiting his typical generosity he released the young man, told him that he looked upon him as his own son, and sent him back to his father. Loyak was the son-in-law of the Emir of Ghazni and it was to Ghazni that Alp Tagin next proceeded. The Emir fled from the city and it was again Loyak who stood against him. But this time too, he suffered defeat at the hands of Alp Tagin. After the battle, Alp Tagin issued a proclamation forbidding his army from looting the people on pain of severe penalties. This impressed the people highly and they decided to welcome him into the city, because they needed a ruler as just as he had been. When the gates of the city were opened and Alp Tagin's army marched in, Loyak hid himself in the fortress, but after some days he surrendered. Alp Tagin this time also forgave him and presented him with a large area of land.

Alp Tagin made Ghazni his home and repeatedly raided India from there. India was just twelve days' march from Ghazni. The news of Alp Tagin's victories spread throughout Khurasan and thousands of crusaders eager to take part in the holy war and share in the loot of India, flocked to his banner.

Nizamulmulk then goes on to describe how Subuk Tagin rose to power. On one occasion Alp Tagin purchased thirty slaves. Only three days after this, Subuk Tagin stood before Alp Tagin, together with other slaves. Just at that moment one of Alp's officers said to him : "The slave who was to have been promoted to the rank of subaltern is missing. Whom shall I select in his stead ?" Alp Tagin's eyes fell on the young slave, Subuk Tagin, who was standing in front of him, and ordered that he be promoted in place of the missing slave.

"But," protested the officer, "this rank is meant only for those who have served at least seven years and this slave was only bought three days ago !"

"Now that I have given my word, I shall not go back on it", replied Alp Tagin.

Alp Tagin tested the new slave in many different ways, and found that he passed every trial with credit. Meanwhile, Alp Tagin was deeply impressed by his loyalty, intelligence and sense of duty. He endeared himself to all the slaves under Alp Tagin and when the time came to choose a successor to Alp Tagin, who had no son of his own, the people with one voice chose Subuk. He married the daughter of the ruler of Jabilistan. Mahmud was born of this union and hence has often been called Jabili.

The Ghaznavi Dynasty

1. Subuk Tagin 997. 2. Mahmud, his son 997-1030.
3. Masood, son of Mahmud 1030-1041.
4. Mohammed, son of Mahmud 1041.
5. Maudud, son of Masood 6. Ibrahim 1059.

Subuk Tagin

Subuk was an able administrator and a great soldier, and he contributed in large measure to the success of Alp Tagin. After the loss of Khurasan, it was Subuk Tagin who helped Alp in establishing a new kingdom in Ghazni. Even after the death of Alp Tagin, Subuk remained loyal to the Samanis, though power was fast slipping out of their hands.

Mahmud (997-1030)

Mahmud succeeded his father Subuk on the throne of Ghazni. After the death of the last of the Samani rulers, the Samani Empire was divided between the Karakhanis and the Ghaznavis, so that it was inevitable that rivalry would arise between the two dynasties. As neighbours, they realised that they had to come to terms with each other ; they, therefore, negotiated a treaty under which the Vakhshu was accepted as the borderline between the two kingdoms. Ilik Nasr gave his daughter in marriage to Mahmud in order to cement the alliance, but the treaty was soon violated by the Karakhanis. Nomads like the Karakhanis were not to be controlled, even by their own rulers.

While Mahmud was busy with his holy war against India, the Karakhanis sent two battalions to attack Khurasan, one led by Jafar Tagin and the other by Subasi Tagin. As soon as the news reached him Mahmud returned and both the Karakhani armies fled before him. When Ilik upbraided them, they said, "No one can stand before such weapons, such elephants and such armies".

The next year Ilik himself took the field, and on the 4th of January 1008, a fierce battle was fought near the Sukhiyan bridge, twenty-four miles from Balakh. In this battle also the Karakhanis, not accustomed to the sight of Indian elephants, suffered defeat and lost thousands of their soldiers.

Another factor that lay behind the defeat of the Karakhanis, was the quarrel between Ilik and his brother. In the end, it was to Mahmud that they appealed for mediation, and he succeeded in patching up their quarrel. Ilik died in 1012.

Mahmud and Khwarezmshah

After Mamun, his son, Abdul Hasan Ali, became the Khwarezmshah.

After the defeat of Ilik at the hands of Mahmud, the Khwarezmshah became an ally of Mahmud Ghaznavi and married his sister. Later, when Hasan Ali was succeeded by his brother, Abul Abbas Mamun II, Mahmud gave another sister of his to him in marriage.

The friendship between Mamun and Mahmud did not last very long. The rift came when Mahmud signed a treaty with Ilik Khan and Tugan. This annoyed Mamun who refused to be a signatory to the treaty.

Mahmud decided to test his brother-in-law. He sent a messenger to him with the demand that he acknowledged his overlordship. This was resented by Mamun's courtiers and hot words were exchanged between them and Mahmud's emissary.

The Karakhanis tried their best to mediate the quarrel between the two and at last Mahmud allowed himself to be influenced by the persuasions of the Karakhani ambassador. He wrote a letter to Mamun in which he told him that he had been waiting in Balakh with a huge army and would return to Ghazni only if the following terms were accepted : 1. His suzerainty should be acknowledged without equivocation 2. Presents should be sent to him. 3. An unqualified apology should be offered in writing which should be carried by his nobles and Imams in person.

Khwarezmshah accepted all the conditions suggested, Mahmud's name was proclaimed from the mosques of all the cities of Khurasan and nobles and priest were sent to him with valuable presents. But this surrender was not liked by Mamun's subjects, who revolted under the leadership of Alp Tagin of Bokhara. The rebels set fire to the fortress and killed Mamun, whereupon his nephew, a seven-year-old child, was placed on the throne while real power was concentrated in the hands of Alp Tagin and his ministers.

Mahmud resolved to take stern measures against those who had killed his brother-in-law, but only when his sister had been removed to safety. He, therefore, proceeded cautiously and sent an emissary with the innocent demand that his suzerainty be acknowledged and only the murderers be handed over to him. His emissary also suggested that Mahmud's sister be returned to him as a placatory measure. The inhabitants agreed to do so and were preparing to send presents to Mahmud in order that the treaty might be finalised when Mahmud, who had now got his sister back and was not prepared to let them off so lightly insisted on the surrender of the rebel leaders to him. The Khwarezmians realised that there was now no escape from battle and they began to prepare for it. They tried to get the help of the Karakhanis, but they were too frightened of Mahmud to give any aid to Khwarezm.

The Khwarezmian army was routed and the rebel leaders, Alp Tagin and Syed Tagin Khan, were taken prisoner and crushed to death as an example to those who dared shedding royal blood. The Khwarezmian army was driven in chains to Ghazni, where many were released to join the holy war against the 'infidels' in India.

The old Khwarezmian dynasty thus came to an end. Making his officer, Altuntash, Shah of Khwarezm, Mahmud founded a new dynasty.

The Karakhanis were none too happy to see the growing strength of Ghaznavi, but, embroiled as they were in internal quarrels they could do nothing to prevent it. Meanwhile, Mahmud's trusted friend, Tugan Khan, succeeded in winning a decisive victory over an army of "infidels" from the East.

Tugan Khan and Ali Tagin were both sons of Tugan Khan I. Ali Tagin first went to Antarved during the reign of Ilik Nasr. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Karakhanis, Mahmud attacked them on the excuse that the people of the region had appealed to him to liberate them from the oppressive yoke of Ali Tagin. When news of this reached Kadir Khan, the Chief Khan of the Karakhanis, he advanced from the east towards Samarkand. However, the two rulers met, exchanged presents and entered into friendly relations. They decided to join hands in driving Ali Tagin out of Antarved and replacing him by Yugan Tagin, the second son of Kadir Khan. Mahmud's daughter was given in marriage to Yugan Tagin, while Kadir Khan's daughter was married to Mahmud's second son, Mohammed whom Mahmud had marked as his heir.

But the plan could not be executed until Ali Tagin's ally, the Turkmenian chief, Israel, had been tackled. He was arrested by a clever ruse, imprisoned in a fortress in the Punjab and his army destroyed. Ali Tagin had to flee to the desert and his wife, daughters, and all his property were seized by Mahmud.

Kadir Khan's son, Yugan Tagin, approached his father-in-law, Mahmud, for help in occupying Antarved. Mahmud was more interested in his expedition to India however, and asked him to wait till his return. Kadir Khan and his sons succeeded in taking Balasagun, but Ali Tagin continued to rule over Bokhara and Samarkand, while his brother, Tugan Khan, who had been driven out of Balasagun, made Aksikat his centre. Coins bearing his imprint have been recovered from Aksikat, but latter coins of this region bear the imprint of Kadir Khan which indicates that ultimately this place too fell into the latter's hands.

In 1026, the Caliph sent a letter to Mahmud recognising his claim to all the territories conquered by him and conferring on him the title of 'Ruler of the East'. The Caliph even accepted his demand that the Karakhanis be considered subordinate to him though they really enjoyed equal status.

On Tuesday, 30th of April, 1030, Mahmud breathed his last. During his lifetime, Muslim power had reached its zenith in the East. With his death the relations between the Karakhanis and Ghaznavis underwent a change.

Although Mahmud looted the wealth of India and the treasury of Ghazni overflowed with the spoils of his raids, the lot of the common man was miserable. The people received no share of the booty, yet they had to give their lives in the predatory raids he organised. He built beautiful gardens and huge monuments, but in order to maintain them such oppressive taxes were levied on the people that it was no wonder that they did not get any real pleasure from the festivities he occasionlly organised in these gardens.

Mahmud's zeal for religion was only a cover for the loot and plunder in which he was really interested. The religion of his courtiers also only served their selfish ends. They lived by flattering their ruler and continued to remain in his favour only so long as they carried out his dictates. His armies were composed of mercenaries, while he regarded the common people merely as a source of collecting taxes. When the people resisted the Karakhanis, he disapproved of it and said that it was the duty of the people to pay taxes and bow to the rulers who happend to be strongest at the moment. Thus there was not a trace of democracy in his administration. He was a dictator pure and simple.

Arabic replaced Persian as the court language, because he did not approve of the people's tongue being that of the official world.

In Mahmud's kingdom the population was divided into two categories—the soldiers who were paid to serve, and the people whom the Sultan protected. Neither the soldier nor the ordinary subject dared going against the wishes of the Sultan and Mahmud's secret agents watched even the movements of his own son.

Nizamulmulk tells a story of how on one occasion an officer got drunk at a party, and disregarding Mahmud's advice decided to go home in that state. On his way home he was seized by the Turkish officer on duty and severely beaten. When he showed his weals to Mahmud, he was told : "This will teach you not to get drunk again".

The Siyatnama describes another incident in Mahmud's life. He was very ugly and on one occasion, when engaged in prayer, his eyes fell on the mirror. Just at this time his minister, Somsulkaffat Ahmed Hasan arrived and Mahmud said to him : "Do you know what I am thinking ?"

"What, my lord ?" asked the minister.

"I was thinking that I am so ugly that the people must dislike me. The people like a monarch who is good to look at."

"My lord. I can tell you how to win the love and affection of your people."

"How ?"

"If you spurn wealth and luxury the people will love you."

Mahmud was highly impressed by the advice of his minister and it is said that after this he became generous and distributed his wealth amongst the people.

Mahmud was the first Muslim ruler to call himself Sultan.

Masood

Mahmud had made his son, Mohammed, the heir, but he was not able to rule very long for his brother Masood managed to wrest control of the kingdom from him in 1030. Masood inherited all his father's vices and none of his virtues. He spent all his energies fighting against the Selzuks (Turkmenians) who had entrenched themselves in Antarved. But his subjects, who were groaning under his oppressive yoke, turned for help to Antarved, and it was the Selzuks who made use of this situation rather than the Karakhanis.

From a letter written by Khwarezmshah Altuntash to Masood, we can gain an idea of the actual relations between the Ghaznavis and the Karakhanis.

"The Karakhanis," he wrote, "are not our friends. But we maintain good relations with them all the same, so that they may not incite others against us. Our real enemy is Ali Tagin, who has always hated us since the late Emir Mahmud drove his brother, Tugan Khan, out of Balasagun. Enemies can never become true friends, but it may be necessary to come to terms with them. At the same time we must maintain our armies in Balakh, Tukharistan, Swagnan, Termiz and Khuttal, because the enemy will always try to loot unprotected territory."

Masood sent emissaries to Kadir Khan asking for the hand of his daughter for himself and his grand-daughter for his son. While negotiations were proceeding, Kadir Khan died and his elder son, Bogra Tagin, ascended the throne, assuming the title, Arsalan Khan. His second son, Yugan Tagin, assumed the title of Bogra Khan and began to rule over Talas and Isphajab. Masood sent messengers to offer condolence on the death of their father and congratulations on their assuming the reins of power. The messengers returned with a bride for Masood and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour.

No agreement could be reached with Ali Tagin, the ruler of Antarved. Refusing to heed to the advice given by Altuntash, Masood tried to drive Ali Tagin out of Antarved. In the course of the battles that ensued, Altuntash also became involved and was severely wounded in the battle with Ali Tagin, who was aided by the Selzuks. Altuntash's minister tried his best to negotiate a settlement between Masood and Ali Tagin and was ultimately successful. Ali Tagin then returned to Samarkand, but Altuntash died on his way to his capital.

Masood's attack opened the eyes of Ali Tagin to the necessity of unity amongst the Karakhanis. He agreed to accept Arsalan Khan as his sovereign, and coins bearing the imprint of Arsalan and Bogra Khan were issued in Samarkand.

After the death of Altuntash, his son, Haroun, became the Shah of Khwarezm.

By virtue of its geographical position, Khwarezm always managed to retain its independence. It is difficult to approach Khwarezm from Antarved, because of the Karokum desert that lies between. The approach from Merv is equally difficult on account of the Kizilkum desert. To the west and north of Khwarezm lie the equally impassable deserts of Kipchiak and Usturt. The only easy approach to the place is over the Vakhshu river, but this passes through terrain that can easily be defended by a handful of soldiers.

After the death of Altuntash, Masood made his son, Syed, the Shah of Khwarezm, and Haroun was allowed to remain only as a nominal ruler. Discontent was natural and it flared up further when news reached Khwarezm that Haroun's brother had been killed at Masood's court. Haroun decided to ally himself with Ali Tagin and the Selzuks and they launched a joint attack against Termiz. Masood's commander in Termiz, Beg Tagin, was killed in the engagement.

The Rise of the Selzuk Turks

In 1029, a conflict broke out between Ali Tagin and the Selzuks. Yusuf, the grandson of the Selzuk ruler, was killed by Ali Tagin's commander, Alpkara. Yusuf's cousins, Tugral and Daud, organised a revolt against Ali Tagin and destroyed Alpkara and his army. But Ali Tagin managed to rally the people arround him, defeated the Turks and forced them to retire to Khurasan. It was not so easy, however, to crush the Turkish nomads and they went over to the Khwarezm Shah, who gave them land near Khurasan and Mashrewat on which to settle.

In 1034, there was a serious revolt in the Punjab, then ruled over by the Ghaznavis, but Masood succeeded in crushing it.

In accordance with the agreement with Haroun, Ali Tagin's sons attacked Swagnan and Termiz. Swagnan's ruler could not withstand the attack and fled, but Ilik's army came to the relief of Termiz. Meanwhile, the Ghaznavis bribed some slaves to assasinate Haroun, whereupon Ali Tegin's sons returned to Samarkand.

One year after the death of Haroun, Ali's sons came to the court of Masood to seek a matrimonial alliance between Ilik and the Ghaznavis, as also to beg his help against the Selzuks.

In the year 1038, Ibrahim, the son of Ilik Nasr I, who was till then known as Bari Tagin, came to Antarved and began to loot the towns of Balakh, Khuttal and Hulbuk, but when he was near the Punj river he learned that Masood was preparing to march against him with a large army and he fled into the territory of the Kamizas.

Masood now decided to launch an attack against Antarved and destroy Bari Tagin. Disregarding the advice of his minister he started his attack in winter and therefore, suffered heavy losses. On Tuesday, 9th January, his forces reached Shunyan, where he came to know that the Selzuks were advancing from Guzgan, thus threatening to cut off his retreat. On the other hand, Bari Tagin was holding the Shunyan pass, so that Masood was forced to turn back. Bari Tagin continued to harass his retreating army, seizing his camels and horses by the thousand.

By 1039, Bari Tagin had, with the help of the Selzuks, occupied the whole of Antarved.

Masood had a large army in Khurasan, but its commander burdened it with so much baggage that its movements were hampered, and it was unable to face the highly mobile armies of the nomads.

The rear of the Selzuk Turks was quite secure, because Haroun's brother, Ismail regarded the Ghznavis as their traditional enemies.

Finding the situation turning against him, Masood offered Khwarezm to Shah Malik, the ruler of Zand, and with his help the Khwarezmian army was defeated. Shah Malik marched into Khwarezm, and the proclamation recognising the suzerainty of Masood was issued from the mosques.

Meanwhile, the decisive battle between the Ghaznavis and the Selzuks had been fought out and the latter had ousted the Ghaznavis from Khurasan for ever. The Selzuk chief, Tugral, had himself proclaimed king on the battlefield and letters were despatched to both the Turkmenian Khans, Bari Tagin and Enauddaula, informing them of the victory. The Ghaznavi army was retreating in confusion.

Mohammed

After the death of Masood, his brother Mohammed succeeded to the throne, but was soon deposed by the powerful Maudud, the son of Masood.

Maudud (1041-1048)

Maudud tried his best to keep together the fast disintegrating Ghaznavi dynasty. He managed to hold on to Balakh and Termiz, while the ruler of Antarved probably Bari Tagin, acknowledged his suzerainty. According to the historian Behki, Mahmud's son, Abul Hasan Ahmed, held Termiz for fifteen years against the Selzuks, but was forced to surrender at last to the Selzuk, Daud. After the loss of Termiz the Ghaznavi Empire began to decline rapidly. By 1043, the Selzuks had taken Khwarezm, and Malik Shah, the governor appointed by Masood, fled to Iran. But the Selzuks succeeded in capturing him and he was imprisoned in Makran where he died.

Ibrahim (1049-51)

Ibrahim, who was the next to sit on the Ghaznavi throne, also had to bow before the superior might of the Selzuks and was forced to surrender Balakh too to their commander, Daud.

Comparative Chart of Ghaznavi, Selzuk and Gori Dynasties

Year	India	China	Central Asia (Southern Zone)	Central Asia (Northern Zone)
		(Khitan)	(Ghaznavi)	(Karakhani)
1000		Cheng Chung 983-1031	Mahmud (997-1030)	Tugan (1012-1025
	Rajyapal 1018			
1020				Kadir 1025-32
	Trilochan 1027	Shing Chung 1031-55	Masood 1030-41	Arsalan 1032-56
	Yash 1037			
1040			Maudud 1041-48	
			Ibrahim 1048-59	
		Tau Chung 1055-1101	(Selzuks)	Bogra II 1056-59

Year	India	China	Central Asia (Southern Zone)	Central Asia Northern Zone)
			Tugral (1036-63)	
1060			Alp Arsalan 1063-73	Tugralkara 1059-74
	Gharwal		Malik Shah 1073-92	Bogra Haroun 1074-1103
1080	Chandradeo 1080		Mahmud 1092-94	
			Burkiyaruk 1094-1104	
1100	Madan Chandra 1100	Tyan Chu Ti 1101-21	Mohamed 1104-17	Arsalan Mahmud 1103-30
	Govinda 1114	(Chin) Tai Chu 1115-23	Sinjar 1117-57	(Karakhitai) Yu Lu 1125-43
1120		Te Chung 1121-25		
		She Chung 1125-49		
1140		Hai Ling Wang 1149-61		Chu Le Gu 1143-82
1160	Vijay 1155	She Chung 1161-90	(Gori)	
	Jaichandra 1170-1194		Gyasuddin 1206	
1180		Chang Chung 1190-1219		Gurkhan 1182-1210

CHAPTER 24

THE SELZUKS

Origins

The Selzuks were a nomadic people inhabiting the regions north of the Sir Darya. They were also known as Turkmans and the region once inhabited by them now forms part of the Soviet Socialist Republic. A branch of the Aguz, they spread in the course of their wanderings to the northern banks of the Sir Darya. Apart from the Arab, Samani, Saffari and Taheri rulers all the other Muslim rulers in Central Asia were of Turkish origin. The similarity in language points to the Uzbeks, Turkmans, Khirgiz and Kazaks having sprung alike from Turkish stock. They can be divided into three parts—(i) The Northern Turks—the Yakuts of Siberia, (ii) The Eastern Turks—the Sinkiang Turks, Uzbeks, Kazaks are Kufa Tatars (iii) The Western Turks—Osman Ali, Azerbaijanians and Turkmans.

A branch of the Turks left its original homeland in the Altai mountains and advanced into Turkestan, driving out or absorbing the Scythian and Sogdhian tribes inhabiting these regions. Among these Turks were the Selzuks and the Chingiz Mongols.

The Sulzuks acquired that name from Selzuk Turk their first Muslim Chief, although they were equally well-known as Turkmans. The Western Turks, of whom Turkmans were the majority, brought Asia Minor and Armenia under their control, while another branch of the Western Turks, the Osmani Turks, brought about the downfall of the Byzantine Empire, made Constantinople their capital in the 15th century and later extended their rule over Eastern Europe.

Tugral (1036-1063)

In 956 A. D. a branch of the Aguz tribe settled in Zand and their chief, Selzuk, had two sons. One of them, Mikhail, was the father of Tugral and Chakir, while the other was the father of Yusuf. Tugral, the elder, was the chief of the Turkman tribe, but as a soldier, Daud (Chakir), the younger brother, was the more able. After driving Masaud out of Khurasan, Tugral put an end to the Dailmi dynasty and assuming control of the whole of Iran, extended his empire up to the borders of the Roman Empire and even forced the

Emperor of Contsntinople to come to terms with him. Tugral's army consisted of the brave Turkman nomads who carried their tents and their families with them when they went to war. By 1048, the Selzuks had established their sway over Azerbaijan, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. Thus the counter-offensive of the Turks began and Turkish rule gradually spread over Arabia as well. Unlike the Arabs, however, the Turks did not develope a new culture and civilisation, but they only unfolded destruction and devastation. Arab influence resulted in making Balakh, Bokhara, etc., centres of Arab learning and culture, while Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Turkey became Turkish-speaking regions.

In 1055, Tugral entered Baghdad and helped Kuyam to become the Caliph. In 1063, he died before he could complete his marriage with the Caliph's daughter. His brother Daud had predeceased him so that Daud's son, Alp Arsalan, succeeded to the title.

The historian Idrisi, while appreciating the merit of Tugral, Alp Arsalan and Malikshah, draws a distinction between the rulers and their subjects. "The rulers," he writes, "were intelligent, bold, just and virtuous, but their subjects were cruel, wild and lacking in intelligence."

Turkman chiefs lived the same simple lives as those led by their soldiers and participated in all their activities. Even after the Selzuk chiefs became Sultans, they did not abandon their simple ways. For instance, they discarded the practice of appointing Royal Informers (Sahib Khabar) because, as Alp Arsalan explained, the informer would try his best to turn friends into enemies and enemies into friends. Gradually, however, the influence of the corrupt court was bound to make itself felt on the Selzuk Sultans.

The Selzuks remained uneducated till the last. Their greatest ruler, the famous Sinjar, was illiterate like Akbar. Their affairs were looked after by their ministers. Although these Turks ruled over civilised peoples, they themselves continued to be nomads. They considered the ways of civilisation smack of cowardice.

There had always been conflict even between the common Turks and the peoples over whom they ruled, and the Turks considered the subjects inferior beings. Women had considerable influence in their society which reached its peak during the reign of Turkan Khatun.

Alp Arsalan (1063-73)

After the death of his uncle, Alp Arsalan became master of a vast kingdom which spread from the Vakhshu to the Phurat and from the Caspian Sea to the Gulf of Persia. He made Nizamulmulk, his minister, the Kautilya of the Islamic world. Born in 1018 in Tus, a town in Khurasan, Nizamulmulk was educated in Neshapor, where Omar Khayyam and the Ismaili teacher Hasan Khabbah, were his class-fellows. At first he served the Ghaznavis, but afterwards became the minister of the Selzuks and remained Chief Minister for thirty years. He was just, tolerant and a great patron of arts.

It was during the reign of Alp Arsalan that the Turks first attacked the Roman Empire and ravaged the whole of Armenia. In 1072, Alp Arsalan started on a campaign of conquest with an army of two hundred thousand men. He was, however, murdered by the ruler of Berzam, who bore a grudge against him. Taking advantage of this the Karakhani ruler of Termiz, Shamsulmulk, seized Balakh. Its governor Ayaz, the son of Arsalan, had already fled from the city.

Malik Shah (1073-1092)

As soon as he came to the throne, Malik Shah, the son of Arsalan was called upon to face the Karakhanis in battle. In 1073, he attacked Alp Tagin, the ruler of Samarkand and the latter was forced to sue for peace. From that time till 1079, Malik Shah had no trouble with the Karakhanis. After that, under the plea of rescuing the common people from the oppression of the Karakhanis, he attacked and seized Bokhara and Samarkand and their ruler, Ahmed, was made a captive. He then attacked Kashgar, and forced the Khan to accept his suzerainty.

Thus did Malik Shah's rule extend from the borders of China to the gates of Constantinople. During the first five years of his rule, he had to engage in warfare, but peace prevailed during the last fifteen and in this period culture, literature and commerce flourished. The reign of Malik Shah is one of the glorious periods of Islamic history. He was an able general and Nizamulmulk, his minister, was an efficient administrator who contributed to his greatness.

Meanwhile Hasan, son of Sabbah, had founded a powerful Ismaili sect, the followers of which were so adept in killing people at the behest of their master that the word "assassin" (from Hasan) has come to be a synonym for the secret killer. It was one such agent of Hasan, who murdered Nizamulmulk in 1092, because Hasan was jealous of the growing power of his former classmate. Malik Shah did not survive him long, but died the same year, at the age of thirty eight.

Ghazali (1059-1111)

This was a period when statesmen like Nizamulmulk, poets like Omar Khayyam and philosophers like Ghazali, were born. Coming from a family of weavers, Mohammed Ghazali was born in 1059, in Tus. The great poet Firdausi was also born in that town. In Ghazali's family there was not much learning, for his parents were illiterate. But this was a period when learning and culture were proud possessions. So Ghazali was sent to school. His teacher was Abul Malik Harman, of Neshapor. After completing his education in Neshapor, Ghazali went in 1091 to Baghdad and there he was given a royal reception.

After the death of Malik Shah, his queen, Turkan Khatun persuaded the Emirs and nobles that her four-year-old son, Mahmud should be allowed to succeed as the ruler. She also demanded of the Caliph that the "Khutba" be read in Mahmud's name. The Caliph, unwilling to accept this demand, sent Ghazali to persuade the queen to give up this claim and he succeeded in his mission.

Although a devout Muslim, Ghazali's deep study did not permit him to remain dogmatic in his beliefs and, like Shankaracharya he tried to give his ideas the cloak of the Sufi Vedant.

The Selzuks too followed the Islamic practice of promoting their slaves to important positions. Malik Shah had made his slave, Balk Tagin, the Governor of Khwarezm and he in his turn made his slave, Nush Tagin, the Governor. He was the founder of the famous dynasty which produced Chengiz Khan.

Mahmud I (1092-1094)

Mahmud was the youngest of his father's sons and at the time of his father's death was only four years old. But his mother, Turkan Khatun, being a woman of extraordinary ability, succeeded in getting him installed on the throne and she even obtained the Caliph Muktadir's blessings for him. Her eldest son, however, entrenched himself in Ispahan, with the result that the Khatun herself had to take the field against him. With the help of Muvaiduddaula, Burkiyaruk, the elder son was on the point of defeating her, when the Khatun negotiated an agreement with him under the terms of which he agreed to surrender Ispahan in exchange for a large sum of money. With the death of the Khatun and her infant son, Burkiyaruk got his opportunity and seized the throne. By this time Muktadir too died.

Burkiyaruk (1094-1104)

Burkiyaruk, the sixteen-year-old son of Nizamulmulk was able to get the throne with the help of Muvaiyaduddaula. The Caliph Mustzahir also recognised him and accorded him a warm welcome when he visited Baghdad. The eleven years of his rule were mostly spent in warfare.

Burkiyaruk appointed one of his brothers, Mohamed to the Governorship of Azerbaijan and another, Sinjar, to that of Khurasan. He himself preferred to stay in Baghdad, but in 1104, during one of his journeys from

Ispahan to Baghdad he died. He wished that his son, Malik Shah, should succeed him, but his brother Mohamed attacked Baghdad and made the young Sultan a captive.

Mohamed (1104-1117)

The thirteen years of Mohamed's reign were also spent in warfare. The religious war with the Christians had started. The Selzuk Empire spread up to the shores of the Mediterranean. Jerusalem, the sacred city of the Christians, had long been under Muslim rule and was now part of the Selzuk Empire, but by this time most peoples of Europe had been converted to Christianity. Thus the Crusades began. Mohamed's generals spent almost all their time in repelling the crusaders. Mohamed died in 1117, in Ispahan.

Mahamud II (1117) was only a nominal ruler, real power vesting in his uncle, Sinjar. The latter allowed his nephew to rule Iraq, but stipulated that the edicts from the mosques should contain the names of both of them. This arrangement too did not last very long.

Sinjar (1117-1157)

Sinjar was the last of the Selzuk Sultans and the most powerful. For twenty years he had been Governor of Khurasan and for the next forty years he was Sultan of the vast Selzuk Empire.

Nush Tagin, one of the slaves of Selzuk, had grown somewhat powerful and had given his son, Kutubuddin, an excellent education. After the death of his father in 1097, Kutubuddin assumed the title of Khwarezmshah. Just at this time the Karakhanis began to attack Antarved. Kutubuddin put up a fierce resistance but ultimately had to yield to them. The Karakhanis returned to their capital, Kashgar, and after the death of Kutubuddin, Atsiz, his son ruled Khwarezm. For many years, Atsiz had served under Sinjar in Merv, but when the nobles of Sinjar's court began to grow jealous of the increasing influence of Atsiz he sought the permission of his master to return to Khwarezm. The historian, Jubeini, narrates how Atsiz, feeling that Sinjar was growing cold towards him as a result of the intrigues of some of his courtiers, decided to revolt. In the autumn of 1138, Sinjar charged Atsiz with having massacred the Muslims of Zand and Mankishlak, who had always loyally defended Islamic provinces against the infidels. In return, Atsiz arrested the officers of the Sultan, and confiscated their property. The Sultan marched against him and succeeded in defeating him. During the battle Atsiz's son was captured and Sinjar immediately beheaded him and sent his head to Antarved. After the battle Sinjar appointed his nephew, Sulaiman, governor of Khwarezm and returned to his capital, Merv. Atsiz seized this opportunity to return to Khwarezm, and, taking advantage of the local discontent against Sinjar, rallied all the people around him and had Sinjar's officers killed. Sulaiman fled to his uncle for safety, but Sinjar again forced him to submit and swear an oath of loyalty to him. Within a few months Atsiz had forgotten all his pledges and Sinjar was forced to resume his attacks on Khwarezm. The fierce battle between Atsiz and Sinjar led to the penetration of Antarved by the Karakhitais and ultimately brought about the downfall of the Selzuk Empire and the death of Sinjar himself.

In 1141, Mahmud Khan of Antarved sought the help of Sinjar against his Karluk soldiers. The Karluks, in their turn, sought the help of the Karakhitais. The Gurkhan was in favour of effecting a reconciliation between Mahmud Khan and his soldiers, but Sinjar stood in the way. So the Karakhitais launched a full scale invasion of Antarved. In September 1141, the armies of Sinjar were routed in the deserts of Katwan. Sinjar managed to escape to Termiz and the whole of Antarved fell into the hands of the Karakhitais. One of the nobles of Bokhara, Sadre-Jahan, who claimed descent from Omar, offered a stiff resistance to the Karakhitais, but he was defeated and the Karakhitais appointed Alp Tagin, Governor of Bokhara. The defeat of Sinjar at the hands of the Karakhitais led to the belief that it was Atsiz who had sought the help of the Karakhitai. But this is not true, because the Karakhitai looted the territories under Atsiz also and forced him to accept their overlordship. Atsiz declared that the defeat of Sinjar was the punishment meted out to him by Providence for the ingratitude shown to his most loyal servant, Atsiz.

The establishment of the rule of the Karakhitais over Antarved was an event of great importance for it marked the end of four centuries of Islamic domination over Anturved. By this time Sinjar had grown very weak. Atsiz confined his activities to looting and pillaging Merv and Neshapor.

On the 29th of May 1141, Atsiz was in control of Neshapor, but sometime later in the same year Sinjar again occupied Khurasan and Atsiz had to acknolwedge him as his sovereign.

In November 1147, Sinjar attacked Khwarezm for the third time. After a seige of two months he succeeded in taking Hajarasp and advanced towards the capital of Atsiz. At the request of Atsiz, Ahuposh (the priest wearing deer's skin) who cammanded a great respect consented to mediate and once again Sinjar agreed to forgive Atsiz provided he came personally and acknowledged him as his master. Atsiz went to Sinjar, but his behaviours were rude and insulting. Sinjar, however, decided to ignore the insult and returned to Merv.

Unsuccessful in Khurasan, Atsiz turned his attention towards Sir Darya, where the Karakhanis taking advantage of the preoccupation of Sinjar elsewhere had seized Zand. Atsiz imprisoned Kamaluddin, who was ruling over that region and appointed his elder son, Abul Fateh Il Arsalan, governor of Zand, thus the tradition that the eldest son of the Khwarezmshah should be the Governor of Zand had its beginning.

In 1153, Atsiz felt that because Sinjar had been defeated by the Guz, who were looting his capital Marv and other towns like Neshapor, conditions were ripe for a successful assault. Sinjar was being held captive by the Guz, but a part of his army under Mahmud Khan was continuing the resistance against the Guz. Atsiz allied himself with Mahmud and marched towards Khurasan, but when he reached Sheheristan he learnt that Sinjar had escaped from prison and reached Termiz. Atsiz promptly offered Sinjar his felicitations on his successful escape and sent him his pledge of loyalty.

Atsiz was probably aware of the growing threat to the Islamic world from the Karakhitai and in his heart of hearts wanted to consolidate the forces of Islam. But this was no easy task. On the 30th of July 1156, he died of a paralytic stroke. At the time of his death he was a vassal of Sinjar Sultan, but he had laid the foundations of a powerful kingdom in Khwarezm. He had taken back Zand and Mankishlak and forced the Northern Nomads to submit to him and with the help of Turkish mercenaries he laid the foundations of an indpendent kingdom. His successor added to this strength.

In 1157, Sinjar too died, but his glory had ended even before his death and even with the help of Atsiz he was not able to revive it. The star of the Karakhitais was in the ascendent in Central Asia and the strength of the Khwarezmshah was also increasing. To the South, the new Gori dynasty had established its rule and succeeded in conquering India. After Sinjar, some Selzuki rulers continued to rule over some parts of Western Asia. They are: 1. Kirmani Selzuk (1041-1187), 2. The Syrian Selzuks (1094-1117), 3. The Selzuks of Iraq and Kurdistan (1117-1194), 4. Selzuks of Asia Minor (1077-1300).

After the death of Sinjar, Il Arsalan, the son of Atsiz, became an independent ruler in Khwarezm.

It was during the rule of the fourth Karakhitai Gurkhan that the Karakhitais occupied (1143-1182) Antarved. After defeating Sinjar they extended their boundaries up to the Vakhshu. Atsiz had accepted the suzerainty of the Kharkhitai, and even after him almost all the succeeding Khwarezmshahs accepted the Karakhitai as their masters right up to the time of downfall of the Karakhitais in 1218. Il Arsalan, the successor of Atsiz, tried to shake off the yoke of the Karakhitai but without success. As he had first to contend with the Selzuks and later with the Goris, he was forced to seek the help of the Karakhitais.

At the time of his death, Il Arsalan handed over the kingdom to his younger son Mahmud, whereupon the elder, Takash, sought the help of the Karakhitai and seized the throne. Mahmud took refuge with the Goris and from there went to the Karakhitai queen and said, "The people of Khwarezm want me as their ruler." The queen, who was annoyed with Takash, took advantage of this opportunity and sent her help to Mahmud. Takash realised that it would be useless to go against the Karakhitais, and he agreed to pay tribute to them. His heir, Mohammed Alauddin, learnt the same lesson when he tried to attack the Karakhitais and received a severe trouncing at their hands. He scored some success the following year, not on the strength of his own forces, but for attack of Chengiz Khan.

During the rule of the Karakhitais, Governors were appointed by Gurkhan over different parts of Antarved ; but it was through the Khwarezmshah that they ruled over Khwarezm. The Karakhitais were Buddhists by faith and their culture was Chinese. They were friendly towards the Christians and other sects, but were hostile to the Muslims. This was not without reason, for in the course of the three or four centuries of their rule, the Muslims had proved themselves absolutely intolerant of others.

CHAPTER 25

THE GORIS

Origin

Gor (Gur) was a hilly province lying east and south of Hirat and south of Garjistan and Guzgan. The language of this region was different from that of Khurasan or Iran. Up to the 10th century, the people of "Gor" had been "infidels" i. e. either Buddhists, Christians or Hindus, but they were later converted to Islam. In 1020, Masaud Ghaznavi, the Governor of Hirat, reached Gor with his army. When the Selzuk Empire began to break up with the death of Sinjar, the Goris took advantage of the situation and under the leadership of the brothers Gyasuddin and Shahabuddin set up a vast empire. Although this empire did not last long in Gor proper, it succeeded in laying the foundations of the Muslim rule in India which was to last for centuries and which has left its imprint on every aspect of Indian life.

Gyasuddin Mohamed Gori

In the east the Gori Kingdom spread up to Balakh and Chitral. In the west it reached Khurasan and became the rival of the Khwarezmshah. The Goris had many advantages over the Khwarezmshah. While the latter had to depend on Turkish mercenaries, the former had with them hill tribes like themselves and while the Khwarezmshah was a vassal of the infidel Karakhitai, the Goris were independent Muslim Sultans. The hopes of the Muslims of Central Asia rested with the Goris. At this time there were only three powerful forces in Central Asia—the Goris, the Karakhitai and the Khwarezmshah. The Khwarezmshah, though a vassal of the Karkhitai, tried his best to overthrow the Goris ; and in this he ultimately succeeded, although it was Chengiz Khan who reaped the benefit from his efforts. Both Gor and Khwarezm had natural defence being encircled by impassable deserts and impregnable Hindu Kush mountains respectively. The Ghaznavis had opened up the route to India and it was followed by the Goris.

Gyasuddin's uncle had ousted the descendents of Mahmud Ghaznavi. Shahabuddin occupied Ghazni, and by winning over the queen of Ucch to his side was able to enter India and conquer Multan and Sind.

In 1178, he attacked Gujerat, but did not succeed in taking it. Unsuccessful in Gujerat, he turned eastwards.

He had already conquered Ghazni and the Punjab. At this time Delhi was protected by the Sarhind Fort, which marked the boundary of the Chauhan empire. Shahabuddin faced Prithwiraj Chauhan in 1191 and was repulsed. The following year he returned and again faced Prithwiraj on the same field. This time Prithwiraj was captured and killed. Shahabuddin pushed forward and succeeded in taking Ajmer : he then returned to Ghazni. In 1194, Shahabuddin, returned at the head of a large army, as he was determined to conquer the kingdom of Kannauj spreading from Delhi to Mithila. Jai Chand was defeated and died on the battlefield of Chandaur. Muslim rule had thus established itself in India.

But the Goris were not so fortunate in their own homeland. While they were looting the temples of the infidels in India, they themsleves were being subjected to several blows by the Karakhitai infidels in their homeland.

Four years after the conquest of Kannauj Gyasuddin's brother, Bahauddin Sham, seized Balakh and proclaimed Gyasuddin's sovereignty over it. The Kwarezmshah, Takash, was not only a vassal of an infidel emperor, but had incurred the displeasure of the Caliph, who, though not very powerfull, was still important as the religious head of the Islamic world. At the request of the Caliph, Gyasuddin attacked Takash with the result that the latter turned to the Karakhitai for help. The Karakhitai army crossed the Vakhshu, ravaged Guzgan and demanded the surrender of Balakh. At this time the Goris were in difficulties, as their general Shahabuddin was busy in India, and Gayasuddin himself was suffering from rheumatism and had to be carried about on shoulders. But the Goris managed to survive the crisis and succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the Karakhitais.

After Takash, Mohammed became the Khwarezmshah in 1197, but a dispute arose regarding the succession, for the son of Malik Shah, Hindu Khan, claimed the throne of Khwarezm. The Goris supported Hindu Khan's claim and began to ravage the Khwarezmian towns. Just at this time, Gayasuddin died, to the great relief of Mohammed Shah.

Shahabuddin (1203-1206)

On his return from India in 1203, Shahabuddin decided to teach the Khwarezmians a lesson. Mohammed Khwarezmshah left Merv and took shelter in Khwarezm, where he flooded all approaches to the area by breaking open the dams. In spite of this within fortyfive days Shahabuddin managed to defeat Mohammed near Karasu. He then advanced to take Garaganj, but its citizens to a man, rose in defence of the city. They were aided by the Karakhitai. Shahabuddin beat a hasty retreat, but the Karakhitai pursued him and he was surrounded in Andkhud. A fierce battle now began and raged for two weeks. Shahabuddin Gori, the conqueror of India, was completely routed by the infidels, but was saved by Osman of Samarkand, who came to his aid, because as a Muslim, he did not want a Muslim Sultan to become a prisoner in the hands of the infidels. Shahabuddin was given his personal freedom and allowed to return to Ghazni. "The star of religion" (this is the meaning of the word Shahabuddin) had set and Shahabuddin was forced to conclude a peace treaty with the Khwarezm Shah on the most humiliating terms. With the exception of Hirat, the whole of Khurasan fell into the hands of Mohammed Khwarezmshah.

In 1205, the Governor of Balakh attacked Khwarezm without the orders of his Sultan, and was badly defeated. He was taken prisoner along with ten of his commanders and all of them were executed. It was natural that the Sultan who had unfurled the banner of Islam in India should rush to avenge their death, but the Khwarezmshah managed to occupy Ghazni, and Shahabuddin was rendered helpless.

In India, it is not Shahabuddin who is so well known as is his Governor, the Slave, Kutubuddin Aibek.

In 1206, Shahabuddin was preparing to attack the Karakhitai, when he met his death on the 13th of March at the hands of a Hindu assassin.

Mahmud Gori (1206-09)

After Shahabuddin, his nephew Mahmud Gori came to the throne. As he had not inherited the abilities of either his father or his uncle, he was ousted from Ghazni as a result of a revolt led by his Turkish slaves. In India, Kutubuddin had already declared himself an independent ruler. The Khwarezmshah took advantage of the weakness of the Gori monarch to seize Balakh on the plea of saving it from the hands of Karakhitai. The Governor of Termiz handed over the city to the Karakhitai Governor, Osman. In December, Khwarezmshah invaded and occupied Hirat. Mahmud was allowed to retain his original homeland, Gor, but had to accept the suzerainty of the Khwarezmshah. Thus did Gori power decline as rapidly as it had arisen, while the boundaries of Mohammed Khorezmshah's kingdom extended as far as the borders of the Hindu Kush.

There were now only two forces in Central Asia—the Karakhitai and their vassal, the Khwarezmshah.

CHAPTER 26

THE KHWAREZMIANS

By the 10th century, the Khwarezmshahs of the Mamun dynasty had grown strong at the expense of the Samanis. Later, that dynasty was to come to an end when they quarelled with their kinsman, Mahmud Ghaznavi. Mamun I, Abul Hasan Ali and Mamun II, Abul Abbas were rulers of this dynasty.

After the death of his brother-in-law, Mahmud Ghaznavi made a slave, Altun Tash, the Khwarezmshah. Later Masaud Ghaznavi placed his son, Sayed on the throne, but the latter was unable to achieve anything. The last of this dynasty was Ismail, who took refuge with the Selzuks. The Selzuks founded the third Khwarezmian dynasty. This is the most important Khwarezmian dynasty in history and it continued till it was finally destroyed by Chengiz Khan.

Comparative Chart

Khwarezm		India	
Anosh Tagin	1077-97	Chandradev	1080-1100
Kutubuddin Mohammed	1097-1127	Madan	1100-14
Atsiz	1127-56	Govind	1114-55
Il Arsalan	1156-72	Vijay	1155-70
Mahmud Sultan	1172	Jaychandra	1170-96
Takash	1172-1200	Gori	1196-1206
Alauddin Mohammed	1200-20	Kutubuddin	1206-10
Jalaluddin	1220-31	Altamash	1211-36

Sultan Anosh Tagin

The Selzuk, Malik Shah had appointed his cup-bearer, Bilk Tagin, Governor of Khwarezm and after his death his slave, Anosh, became Governor. He remained loyal to his Selzuk masters till the end. Anosh Tagin had been purchased by Bilk Tagin from a Garjistani merchant, and, finding favour with the Sultan, he became Governor of Khwarezm after Bilk Tagin had been killed by rebels.

Kutubuddin Mohammed

He was the son of Anosh Tagin and received a good education in Merv. Among the Selzuks education was not considered important, because the nomads had an idea that it rendered a man weak and cowardly. Kutubuddin assumed the title of Khwarezmshah as soon as he came into power, but after being badly defeated at the hands of the Karakhitai, he agreed to pay tribute to them. After a few days Kutubuddin died and his son, Atsiz, came to the throne.

Atsiz

Atsiz lived in Merv for several years as a faithful adherent of Sinjar, but it is he who really laid the foundations of the Khwarezmian dynasty. His predecessors had never dared oppose their Selzuk masters, but Atsiz gradually extended the boundaries of his kingdom towards the north and occupied the important centres of Zand and Mankishlak. He also led a number of campaigns against the nomads inhabiting the regions north of the Sir Darya and the Aral Sea. As these nomads were infidels, Atsiz had the satisfaction of waging a holy war against them and he succeeded in defeating many powerful nomad chieftains. Soon after this, he revolted against Sinjar, because the latter had turned against him after his campaign of Ghazni.

An account of the long feud between Sinjar and Atsiz has already been given in the course of the history of Sinjar. Atsiz died of a paralytic stroke on the 30th of July 1156. Although at the time of his death he was formally still a vassal of Sinjar, his grandchildren were soon to emerge as the Islamic Sultans of Central Asia.

Il Arsalan

Il Arsalan's hands were stained with the blood of many of his uncles and brothers when he came to the throne on the 22nd of August 1156. His first act was to increase the pay of his soldiers and officers. In the autumn of the same year Sinjar sent him a formal mandate proclaiming his kingship. In the spring of 1157, Sinjar died and with his death the biggest Muslim Empire in Asia came to an end. The Khwarezmshah was now the most powerful Muslim Sultan of all Asia.

The Karakhitais were never able to establish themselves very firmly in Antarved. Their proteges, the Karakhani princes, through whom they administered this region, came into conflict with the Karluks, who murdered Ibrahim, the ruler of Samarkand. Jalaluddin Ali succeeded him and he in turn killed the leader of the Karluks—Pegu Khan. The Karluks appealed for help to Il Arsalan, while Jalaluddin sought the aid of the Karakhitai. The armies of the Karakhitai and the Khwarezmshah faced each other on the banks of the

Jarphasan and as the Khwarezmian army was the stroger, the Karakhitai forces, led by Ilak Turkman, were forced to hesitate. The Imams and Mullas of Samarkand negotiated a settlement, as a result of which the Karluks were guaranteed protection. Il Arslan retired to Khwarezm, satisfied that he had achieved his purpose.

In 1134, the Karluks, who were being pressed to leave Samarkand and Bokhara and go to Kashgar, revolted again and beseiged Bokhara. The Khan of Samarkand came to the rescue of Bokhara and succeeded in defeating the Karluks, but Jalaluddin could not crush them entirely and they were presently to revolt against his successor, Kilich Tamgach Khan.

Tamgach Khan assumed the title of Kutluk Bilga Beg when he came to the throne. It was during Kutluk's reign that the Karluk Emir, Ayar Beg, organised a revolt against him. (It is interesting to note that Altamash, the son-in-law of Kutubuddin who later became the Sultan of Delhi, was also a Karluk). Ayar Beg was born in a poor family, but he was an able military commander. He was on the point of winning the battle when he was killed by the Kutluk's soldiers. Kutluk Bilga Beg also had to fight against the Guz, but he succeeded in quelling all revolts and restoring peace.

Il Arsalan, although very powerful, was still formally a vassal of the Karakhitai. For failure to pay the annual tribute, the Karakhitai armies attacked Khwarezm and succeeded in capturing the commander of the Khwarezmian forces, but the Khwarezmshah saved himself by breaking the dams and flooding the region. In March 1172, Il Arsalan died.

Takash, the eldest son of Il Arsalan, who was Governor of Zand, should have succeeded him, but his younger brother, Mahmud, tried to seize the throne of Khwarezm with the help of his mother.

Takash refused to accept his younger brother as the Khwarezmshah and sought the help of the Queen of the Karakhitai. She sent an army to his support, led by her husband, Phuma, and before this Mahmud fled, along with his mother. Takash succeeded in capturing and killing his mother and Mahmud fled and took shelter with the Sultan, Gyasuddin Gori.

Takash thus became the Khwarezmshah with the help of the Karakhitai, and ascended the throne on the 11th of December 1172.

Knowing that Takash had secured his kingdom by the grace of the Karakhitai, the Gurkhan sent his representative to collect taxes from Khwarezm. Annoyed by the arrogant behaviours of the latter, Takash and his Emirs killed both tax-collector and his retinue. As soon as news of this reached Mahmud, he incited the Karakhitai Queen to take revenge, persuading her to believe that the people of Khwarezm wanted him rather than his brother. Takash's preparations for resistance included the flooding of the roads leading to Khwarezm, whereupon Phuma, the husband of the Karakhitai Queen, decided to beat a retreat.

Takash now prepared to attack Khurasan, but Mahmud sent an emissary begging for peace and agreeing to accept him as his sovereign. Takash accordingly decided not to attack Khurasan and sent a letter to Gyasuddin Gori informing him of his plans. Later in May, he laid seige to Sarakhsh and wrote to Gyasuddin : "Sarakhsh will fall within a few days. Then we shall arrange to meet." But when Sarakhsh did not fall, he sent another letter to Gyasuddin in which he wrote : "Alp Kara Oran has arrived here with a large army. He has sent his son Phiran to me offering his services. I have asked him to go to Malikshah of Zand and directed him to launch an attack against the infidels, in alliance with the Malikshah." In January, 1183, he sent another letter to Gyasuddin regretting his inability to meet him.

In October and November, 1182, Takash wrote letters to Atavege Pahelwan of Iran, in which he spoke of the Kipchiaks. In a letter sent in October, he wrote that Phiran, the son of Alp Kara, had entered into a matrimonial alliance with his family and as in the past year, offered his services again. "Last year he liberated a vast area from the yoke of the infidels. This year also large bands of Kipchiaks are joining our army."

In a letter to his minister, Takash describes his expedition to Antarved. From this it is clear that, till the end Takash tried to persuade the rebels to surrender and it was only when they refused that he gave the order to attack. Even afer he had entered the town he saw to it that there was no looting and pillaging of the conmmon people. The rebel commander tried to escape, but was captured. Takash, however, spared his life. He gave liberal awards to the Imam who had helped him when his army entered Bokhara, and asked him to announce his name together with that of the Caliph in edicts from the mosques.

Takash was now becoming more and more ambitious and was practically disregarding his master the Gurkhan. Gyasuddin and Shahabuddin Gori, were engaged in exterminating the infidels in India and Kabul. In the meantime Mahmud Sultanshah brother of Takash, had entrenched himself in Khurasan and was harassing Gyasuddin Gori. When Takash came to hear of this he wrote to Gyasuddin "I am coming with an army of fifty thousand Turks." In this letter he addressed Gyasuddin not as a brother, but as a son. It is clear from it that the Khwarezmshah desired to treat all the Muslim rulers of the East as his subjects. In 1183, Takash reached Khurasan with his army and Gyasuddin Gori's hands were thereby considerably strengthened.

On the 15th of April, Tugan Shah died and his son Sinjarshah came to the throne. By this time the greater part of the region had come under the occupation of Takash's brother, Mahmud Sultanshah. In June, 1187, Takash took Neshapor and appointed his elder son Malikshah, the governor of Zand, as its ruler. He sent Sinjarshah to Khwarezm and when he came to learn that he was carrying on a secret inrigue with the people of Neshapor, he was made blind. When Mahmud Sultanshah died on the 29th September, 1193, Takash seized Merv also.

The Selzuk Sultan, Tugral, was carrying on activities against the Caliph, saying that he had no business to interfere in temporal affairs, but should confine himself to spiritual matters only. The Caliph applied for help to Takash, and the latter attacked Tugral's army. Tugral died on the battlefield and Takash seized Tehran and Hamdan. By 1194, Takash had become the most powerful Muslim Sultan in Asia and the Caliph now realised that Takash was no less serious a menace than Tugral had been.

Buddhists, Christians and Zorastrians

In 1195, Takash turned his attention to the Turks north of the Sir Darya whose leader was Kair Tuku Khan. Declaring a religous war against them Takash attacked Signak. As soon as news of the approach of the Khwarezmian armies reached him, the Turkish Khan fled. The Khwarezmian army followed in pursuit, but the army contained a contingent recruited from amongst the northern nomads, the chief of which secretly sent word to Tuku Khan that his troops would come over to him on the battlefield. Encouraged by this, Tuku Khan decided to fight. The nomad chief kept his word and crossed over destroying all the supplies of Takash. Takash's army was routed and thousands of his soldiers perished in the desert for lack of food and water. Takash returned to Iraq. Later that year, however, Tuku Khan's nephew, Alp Darao, revolted against his uncle and came to Takash for help. Takash readily agreed to support him and sent prince Kutubuddin at the head of an army to his aid. Tuku Khan was defeated and brought to Khwarezm in chains, but Alp Darao did not remain loyal to his new master very long. In accordance with the saying, 'Diamond cuts diamond', Takash released Tuku Khan from prison and set him against Alp Darao. The following year brought news that Tuku Khan had been victorious.

In 1198, Bahauddin, the ruler of Bamyan, had wrested Balakh from the Karakhitai and proclaimed the sovereignty of Gyasuddin over the city. This infuriated Takash, so much so that his parternship with Gyasuddin was broken and he aproached the Karakhitai for help. The Gori army next surprised the Karakhitai and defeated them in battle. The Karakhitai blamed the Khwarezmshah for the defeat and claimed compensation. Takash, however, preferred to come to an agreement with the Goris, so he sent a curt letter to the Gurkhan denying any responsiblity for the losses of the Karakhitai, and saying that he had accepted the suzerainty of the Goris and no longer considered the Karakhitais as his masters.

The Karakhitais were not prepared to tolerate this insult. They laid seige to Khwarezm, but were turned back. Takash pursued them and succeeded in capturing Bokhara, but he showed great leniency towards the inhabitants of the city and distributed presents to them. He then returned to Khwarezm.

The Caliph's minister, Moinuddin, behaved insolently towards Takash when he went to meet the Caliph and although the matter was patched up for the time being Takash attacked the Caliph's armies when Moinuddin died and defeated them. Further to avenge the insult he disinterred the body of Moinuddin and sent his head to Khwarezm. During the last years of his reign Takash began to demand that he be accepted as the sovereign of Baghdad too. This gave rise to a bitter conflict between the Khwarezmshah and the Abbasis, which ultimately ended with the destruction of both dynasties at the hands of the Mongols.

Takash died on the 3rd of July, 1200. When the news of his death reached Baghdad, the inhabitants massacred the Khwarezmian garrisons in Iraq.

Mohammed, the son of Takash

As Malikshah, the elder son of Takash had died earlier, his second son, Mohammed, succeeded to the throne taking the titles, Kutubuddin and Alauddin. His nephew, the son of Malikshah, was also a claimant to the throne and received the help of Goris. But when Gyasuddin Gori died, Mohammed attacked his nephew and succeeded in retaking those provinces of Khurasan over which the latter had assumed control. In 1204, he advanced further and occupied Hirat which even Takash had not dared to take. This naturally annoyed Shahabuddin, the conqueror of India, who as soon as he returned from India attacked Khwarezm and it was only with the help of the Karakhitais that Khwarezm was saved. The Karakhitai army seized Andkhud and the Goris were forced to sign a humiliating peace-treaty with the Khwahrezmshah recognising him as the Sultan of the Islamic world. When Shahabuddin was killed by the Hindus in 1206, the Khwarezmshah had no rival left and Turkish slaves divided up the Gori Empire among themselves. The Khwarezmshah also took advantage of this and made a triumphant entry into Hirat.

The Eastern Islamic world was now begining to be organised. The powerful Takash had not hesitated to accept the Karakhitai as his masters and he had taught his son to do likewise, but the latter refused to pay any heed to his father's advice and in 1208, he attcked the Karakhitai. The following year he met with success and seized Utrar and Taraz. Just at this time danger threatened the eastern frontiers of the Karakhitai empire. In 1207, Chengiz had slain Tayang, the Khan of the Naimun Turks, and his son had taken shelter with the Gurkhan. Despite his successes, the Khwarezmshah had still not refused to pay taxes to the Karakhitai.

In the spring of 1208, Mohammed restored peace in Khurasan. The Governor of Hirat was punished for raising the Gori flag and the head of Kazlik, governor of Neshapor, who had tried to revolt was cut off by Turkan Khatun, the mother of the Khwarezmshah when he went to her for shelter.

The same year, a severe earthquake rocked Khwarezm, as a result of which two thousand souls expired, many more were injured and many villages were razed to the ground.

The ruler of Samarkand, Osman, was called to Khwarezm and given a Khwarezmian princess in marriage but Turkan Khatun detained him there for a year on the plea that it was the Turkish custom to keep the son-in-law for a year after marriage in his father-in-law's house. Osman agreed to this, but the following year he left with his wife, for a year in Khwarezm had convinced him of the necessity of seeking an alliance with the Gurkhan.

However, when he heard of the success of the Mongol commander Kubilenyon against the Karakhitai, Osman preferred to accept the Mongols as his masters. The people of Samarkand, who were being fleeced by the Khwarezmshah also favoured this course. The Samarkandians now started attacking the Khwarezmians. The Khwarezmshah arrested Osman as by way of retaliation. He would probably have spared his life, if his daughter, the wife of Osman, had not insisted on his execution. He was, therefore, put to death. The Khwarezmshah now for all practical purposes made Samarkand his capital because it was a convenient centre from which to administer his vast empire. He built a mosque there and gave orders for the construction of a huge palace for himself.

When the Gurkhan died, Mohammed sought a pretext for going to war against Guchluk and demanded that he would immediately send the dowry he had promised his daughter when she was married in Khwarezm, and also warned him that he should confine his rule to the distant provinces.

Though Guchluk himself was facing troubles from the Mongols, he managed to overthrow his adversaries and let loose a reign of terror against the Muslims, especially those in Eastern Turkestan. The Khwarezmshah was not able to do anything to save his Islamic brethren and he advised them to evacuate Isphajab, Shash, Fargana and Kashan, rather than falling into the hands of Guchluk. The Khwarezmshah now began to apprehend that the infidels might occupy the whole of Eastern Islamistan.

But against the Kipchiaks, the Khwarezmshah scored a number of victories. In the course of his campaigns against them he had to face a Mongol army, which fought so fiercely that the Khwarezmshah was obliged to retreat.

There can be no doubt that the Khwarezmshah was the strongest contemporary Muslim ruler. In 1215, he appointed his son, Jalaluddin, Governor of Gor, and his commanders succeeded in conquering the whole of Iran and establishing control even over far-off Umma. Thereafter, he actually went so far as to ask the Caliph to give up all his temporal powers and the Caliph sent an emissary to negotiate with him. The Emissary sought permission to read from the Hadis and the text that he read out stated that no Muslim should harm anyone belonging to the Abbasi family. On hearing this, Mohammed Khwarezmshah said : "Even though I am a Turk and know little of Arabic I have understood very well the meaning of what you have said. But I have not harmed a single Abbasi, whereas your Caliph has thrown thousands of Abbasis into prison and the number of Abbasi prisoners is growing day by day." The Emissary went back without having achieved anything, rather bitterness between the Caliph and the Khwarezmshah continued to grow.

The Caliph began to realise that he would have no peace until the Khwarezmshah was rendered powerless. He, therefore, requested Hasan, the leader of the Ismaili sect, to send his assassins to kill Khwarzemshah and they succeeded in killing the Khwarezmian governor of Iraq and some other important nobles.

In 1215, the Khwarezmshah discovered a number of letters written by the Caliph, exciting the Goris to attack the Khwarezmians. Mohammed declared that a Caliph who intrigued against as faithful a defender of Islam as he was, had no right to continue. He further declared that the Abbasis had no right to the Caliphate, which should really belong to the descendents of Hasan.

So Mohammed Khwarezmshah removed Nasir from the Caliphate and proclaimed Sayed Alaulmulk the Caliph. But the army that he sent to Baghdad suffered serious loss in a snowstorm, and the remnants were destroyed by the Kurds. This dealt a serious blow to the Khwarezmshah's prestige. People began to say "Allah has punished the Khworezmshah for going against the Caliph."

The Khwarezmshah was facing attacks from the east. So he was not in a position to continue the feud with the Caliph. Nevertheless, he caused the name of the Caliph to be removed from the edicts of Balakh, Bokhara and Sarakhsh.

Soon, the Khwarezmshah boldly faced a domestic crisis, for his mother turned against him. Besides, his subjects were dissatisfied by reason of the fact that he had ordered the execution of Sheikh Mazduddin Baghdadi, whom he suspected of being the lover of his mother, Turkan Khatun. His subjects sided with the mother, because they had always received harsh treatment from the son.

The quarrel between Turkan Khatun and the Khwarezmshah

Even after the execution of her lover, Turkan Khatun continued to command great prestige and it was at her request that the Shah appointed her slave, the son of Saleh, as his minister. However, when the Shah realised that the minister was absolutely worthless, he dismissed him and tauntingly advised him to go to his master. Turkan Khatun received him with great honour and this infuriated the Shah, who sent Tugral with orders to behead him. But Turkan Khatun forced Tugral to declare his acceptance of the minister. In the provinces administered by her she was supreme and even the soldiers accepted her as their chief.

After removing his minister the Shah did not appoint anyone in his place, but carried on the administration with the help of a body of six vakils. This was contrary to all Islamic tradition and it is not known why he followed this peculiar course.

The Queen Mother never forgave her son for the execution of her lover and the Shah's subjects were also deeply wounded, not only for the execution of the priest, but for the removal of the Caliph's name from the edicts of the mosque. When discontent in every branch of his administration had reached its climax, the powerful Chengiz appeared on his borders. What followed is described in the next chapter.

The Khwarezmian Administration

The Khwarezmian rule was followed by a period of Mongol domination, during which the old traditional system of administration was replaced by that of Chengiz Khan. This was continued by Timur and the other Mongols and was also imported into India. Below is given a brief description of the Khwarezmian administration.

The Khwarezmian army was composed entirely of mercenaries. In order to keep such an army under control the Shah accorded military officers a status superior to that of civil officers.

The Civil officers were :

Ministers, Priests and Mustaufi, who were the highest ranking officers of the state.

The Vakil — he laid down the rates and taxes to be levied to meet the expenses of the state and of the army. In Mongol times, this Vakil was called the Khariji Vakil.

The Musharaf — who supervised the Vakils in the provinces. The ministers were appointed directly by the Shah in the provinces administered by the princes. In some cases the post of minister was hereditary.

Jander — Commander over ten thousand. The holder of this post was given the title "Ayaz Jan Pahelwan".

As under the Selzuks, army commanders were given landed estates in return for their military services.

CHAPTER 27

CHENGIZ KHAN

The Mongols were inhabitants of a sandy region that was without trees or foliage and was unable to boast of a single village or town. "Hardly a tenth of the region is fit for cultivation. There are only a few narrow streams, but there are fields suitable as pasture for animals. The dung of horses or yaks is the only available fuel. The climate is extremely severe and alternates between the extremes of heat and cold". Such is the description given by the Catholic priest, Karpini, when he visited the place shortly after the death of Chengiz.

In appearance, the Mongols were very ugly. They had only a few hairs on their upper lips and chins. They ate flesh of all animals, especially horseflesh, which they boiled without salt, afterwards dipping it in salted water. They always ate standing but the master and servant ate the same food and were given equal shares. They drank Kumis, a drink made from mare's milk. They were allowed to keep as many wives as they chose, but theft was punishable by death. There was no standing custom with regard to the disposal of the dead. At times the corpse was burnt, at others buried.

The Rise and Progress of Chengiz

Temochin, who later became famous in history as Chengiz Khan, was born in the middle of the 12th century. The Kin dynasty was then ruling over North China, but even at that period, the Mongols were strong enough to merit the status of allies of the Chinese, and towards the end of the 12th century the Chinese Government incited them against the Tatars. It was in the battles that followed that Temochin first distinguished himself and that the Mongols chose him as their Kagan (Khan). Temochin renamed his tribe and it now began to be officially referred to in Chinese documents as the Mongol tribe, although the common name for them was still the Tatars. By giving the name Mongol to the tribe, Temochin showed his intention of recalling his descent from the famous Kutluk Kagan.

According to tradition, Temochin had established ten different posts in his court, viz :

1. Korchies—Four persons to carry bows and arrows.

2. Akhtachi—Those who supervised the pastures.
3. Baurchi—Those who looked after the cooking.
4. Terigin—Supervisors of carts.
5. Cherbi—Supervisors of the household.
6. Four persons who carried swords.
7. Three supervisors to look after the horses.
8. Messengers to carry secret messages.
9. Trainers of horses.
10. Advisers who sat on either side of the king.

By 1203, Temochin had conquered the Karaites and gained control over Eastern Mongolia.

By 1206, he had defeated the Naimun tribe, killed their ruler Jamuka, and brought the whole of Mongolia under his sway. He now unfurled his flag and proclaimed himself King of Mongolia, at the same time assuming the title Chengiz Khan, which means the Supreme Emperor. He now increased the strength of his bodyguard from 80 to 800, a number which later raised to 1000. The number of those appointed to other inportant posts was likewise increased.

Chengiz maintained strict discipline in his army. Those found absenting themselves from duty were whipped and at the third offence dismissed.

Administration, Education and Culture

The Karaites and Naimuns were culturally more advanced than the Mongols and it was from them that the latter acquired the rudiments of culture. Chengiz was also influenced to some extent by the Muslim traders that came to trade with the Northern nomads. After his conquest of the Karaites, he introduced the written script in his court, entrusting this task to the Naimun Khan's chief scribe, the Uigur Tashatun. It was to him also that Chengiz entrusted the education of his children. Chengiz used two seals, the Red Seal for official documents and the Blue Seal for private letters.

The first teachers and state officials of the Mongols were Uigurs. Even after Chengiz had extended his Empire as far as China and the Muslim countries he continued to employ Uigurs both in his court and office. The historian, Aufi, has written of the Uigurs that among them were to be found followers of every faith, except the Jewish. He describes the Uigurs as peace-loving and unfit for war. By far the vast majority of the Karaits and Uigurs were Buddhists. The Buddhist religion became the national faith of the Mongols and remains so till this day. Muslim and European historians have stated that Uigur temples contained the images of the dead and that their prayers contained the words "Om Mani Padme Hun", and that, as with modern Buddhists, the Uigurs referred to their sacred books as Nome. This originates from a Greek word which probably travelled to Central Asia through the Manis. There was no conflict between the Uigur Buddhists and Uigur Christians, and the Christian Uigur Chief, Ching, sided with his Buddhist brethren against the Karluks. But Uigurs of all faiths were united against the Muslims.

The use of the Uigur script by the Mongols resulted in the recording of all the traditional laws, Yasa. For a long time these laws were the highest authority for the Mongol Emperors. The adopted son of Chengiz, Shiki Kutuki Noyon, was the first to master this script. Chengiz made him his Chief Justice and appointed his second son, Jagtei, guardian of the Yasa.

According to the custom prevailing among the Mongols, the princes and other members of the royal family were given estates over which to rule. Juchi, the eldest son of Chingiz, was appointed to the administration of the region lying between the territory of the Sibir tribe and the jungles to the south.

The conflict with Khwarezmshah

After some years of preparation, the Mongol army began to advance towards China. In the west, the northern part of the Saptanada had already been annexed to the Mongol Empire and in 1215, after the fall of Peking, the whole of North China came under his control. Now Mohammed Khwarezmshah also had dreams of conquering China, but he had no idea of the size of China, or of its strength. He therefore, sent Bahauddin Razi as his ambassador to Chengiz, hoping thereby to know something about China. At this time, the Kin Emperor, Swen Chang, was a prisoner in the hands of the Mongols, and the Khwarezmian ambassador saw with his own eyes the destruction caused by the war, the rotting corpses that were lying everywhere, and the bones that were heaped before the gates of Peking. Bahauddin learnt that on the day Peking fell, sixty thousand girls committed suicide by jumping from the city walls, to avoid falling into Mongol hands.

Chengiz received the ambassador with honour and said to him: "We recognise the Khwarezmshah as Emperor of the west, just as we consider ourselves Emperor of the east. We want to live in peace and friendship with him and would like the trade between our two empires to grow." But the Khwarezmshah was not so much interested in trade, as in assessing his rival's strength.

Trade was also carried on in those days with Russia, but the traders ran great risk. Not only was there danger of the boats being sunk in the rivers, but the risk of losing every thing whenever there was war in the territories through which the caravans passed. Trebezend was the centre of trade between Greece and Russia and when the Selzuks attacked the town, the merchants, most of whom were Muslims, suffered great loss. On the other hand, when there was peace between the Khwarezmians and the Karakhitai, trade began to flourish and the poet, Sheikh Sadi, accompanied one of the caravans to Kashgar. Bahauddin was accompanied by Ahmed Khozendi and Ahmed Balchich, with a carvan carrying merchandise. At first they tried to extort exorbitant price for their goods but when threatend by Chengiz, they offered him all their goods as a gift. Chengiz chose the goods he wanted and ordered the payment of a gold balish (one balish : 75 dinars) for every bale of cloth embroidered with gold and a silver balish for every bale of cotton cloth.

Up to this time the Mongols had treated the Muslims with great respect, but latter after bitter experience, they too showed great cruelty towards them on more than one occasion.

Chengiz Khan sent a delegation to the Khwarezmshah in return along with a caravan carrying merchandise of all kinds, including a lump of gold which had been mined in China and that was as big as the lump of a camel, jade, walrus, tusks, wool spun from camel hair, and so on. The delegates reported that Chengiz was desirous of having friendly relations with the Khwarezmshah and hoped that their sovereign would rejoice at his victory over China, just as he rejoiced over the Khwarezmshah's victories. The Khwarezmshah drew aside one of the representatives of Chengiz, who was a Khwarezmian, and asked him if it was true that Chengiz had taken Peking. On hearing that it was a fact, he flew into a rage and said that the infidel Emperor had no right to call him his son. However, he consented to sign a treaty with Chengiz.

Just at this time, the caravan that had left Mongolia with the delegation was approaching Khwarezm when it was stopped by the ruler of Utrar, Inal Khan, who was related to Turkan Khatun. On the plea that they were spies he murdered the traders and looted their caravan. Only one person escaped to carry the news to Chengiz. Chengiz was a man of great patience. He took the news calmly and sent a slave called Kufraj Bugra to draw the attention of of the Khwarezmshah to this outrage and to demand that Inal Khan be handed over to him for punishment. However, not only did the Khwarezmshah refuse to meet the representatives of Chengiz, but he put Kufraj to death and shaved off the beards of his retinue. The Khwarezmshah refused to listen to the advice of his ministers, many of whom told him that Chengiz Khan was well disposed towards him and that his reference to the Khwarezmshah as his "son" meant no disrespect, but showed his regard for him.

Chengiz was not in a position to attack the Khwarezmshah until he had first disposed of the Karakhitai ruler, Kuchluk. Kuchluk was the son of the ruler from whose hands Chengiz had wrested Mongolia and who had escaped at that time. The opportunity presently arose for Chengiz to have Kuchluk beheaded and from there on the Khwarezmshah had the powerful Chengiz Khan as his neighbour. Even his own Muslim subjects were not well-disposed towards the Khwarezmshah, as he had slain several hundred of the Muslim traders sent by Chengiz.

Chengiz was not in a hurry. Without underestimating the Khwarezmshah's strength he made very careful preperations for his campaign. Taking all his sons and important commanders with him, he spent the summer of 1219 on the banks of the Irtish and crossed the river in the autumn. He set up his camp on the Kayalig field, where the Karluk ruler joined him. His forces numbered over a hundred-and-fifty thousand, and he had also left an army behind in Mongolia, as the Chinese had not yet been fully subdued.

The Khwarezmian army was even bigger, but a large part of it, especially the Turkish mercenaries supported Turkan Khatun and were not well-disposed towards the Khwarezmshah. The latter, therefore, lived in constant fear of being betrayed. He had decided to await the attack of the Mongol army on the banks of the Sir Darya in expectation of the Mongol army being tired by the time it reached that place. But the Mongols were mounted on horses which not only served them as a means of swift transport, but the blood of horses served them as food and drink also when none other food or drink was available. The Khwarezmshah's plans did not therefore succeed and he was forced to flee from the Sir Darya and seek refuge in Samarkand. Finding that its defences were not ready he retreated to the Vakhshu. One day he found an arrow sticking to his tent which had evidently been launched by one of his own men. It was little wonder the Khwarezmshah lacked the courage to face Chengiz Khan !

The Conquest of Anturved

In September, 1219, Chengiz approached Utrar and there divided up his armies according to a pre-arranged plan in the following manner :

1. One part of the army, which included Uigurs, was kept for Utrar.
2. Another part, under Juchi's command, was sent towards the lower reaches of the Sir Darya.
3. A small contingent of five thousand for Vanaket and Khojend.
4. One part, under the commanded of his son, Tuluyu, for Bokhara to cut the main highway of the Sultan.

Even before the fall of Utrar, Badruddin, the son of a former priest of Utrar, who had been executed by the Khwarezmshah, had gone over to Chengiz. Many other priests, disgusted with the Khwarezmshah, had also decided to side with Chengiz and had begun to propagandise in his favour.

Although illiterate, Chengiz Khan was a commander whose military genius far surpassed that of Cyrus, Darius and Alexander, and whose exploits cause even those of Napoleon and Hitler to pale into insignificance.

Taking advantage of the fact that the Sir Darya was frozen, Chengiz was able to cross it without any difficulty. The next hurdle was the fortress of Zarnuk. By offering to spare the lives and property of the inhabitants he was able to persuade them to surrender without any resistance and before long he was joined by the Turkmans, who showed him a new route to Bokhara.

Chengiz reached Bokhara in February and after a siege lasting several days the town surrenderd. A garrison of four hundred, which included the defeated Karakhitai Gurkhan Jamuka; held out for twelve days, but was ultimately overpowered. After the fortress had fallen, the entire army was massacred by the Mongols. The wealth plundered from the caravan that had been held up near Utrar was returned by the merchants of the town and the lives of the citizens were spared but their wealth was confiscated, the mosques were desecrated and copies of the Koran were torn up. Chengiz was in Bokhara only for two hours, during which it was completely ransacked. After this the town was burnt down and only a few of the brickbuilt houses, some of the palaces and the Mosque escaped. It is possible, however, that the burning of the town may not have been intentional, because Chengiz did not regard himself as raider, but as a conqueror who had come to rule.

The Mongol army now marched towards Samarkand which was now ruled by Tugai Khan, the brother of Turkan Khatun, and had a garrison of over one hundred thousand men. Chengiz Khan reached Samarkand in march and pitched his tent in Kok Serai where he was joined by his sons Ugtai and Jugtai, fresh from the conquest of Utrar, which was captured after a long siege.

After Chengiz had besieged Samarkand the defenders began to organise sorties, but with disastrous results to themselves. The Mongols remained hidden and attacked those who emerged to such purpose and in the course of a few days over fifty thousand Samarkandians were killed. The town surrendered within five days and led by Tagai Khan, the Turks offered their services to Chengiz. According to the Mongol practice the inhabitants were forced to leave the town, after which it was sacked by the army. The Chief Priest and fifty thousand of his followers were put to death and Tagai Khan and thirty thousand Turkish soldiers were also killed. The skilled artisans were either distributed among the sons of the Khan, or recruited into the army and a tax of two hundred thousand dinars was levied on the inhabitants of town. After the fall of the city and the massacre that followed, its population was reduced to one fourth of its original number. After the conquest of Samarkand Chengiz allowed his army to rest.

The Success of Juchi

The army that had been sent to the lower Sir Darya came first to Signak.

After a siege lasting seven days the town was captured and the Mongols did not leave a single soul alive in it. Leaving Hasan's son to take care of the town, Juchi's army pushed ahead and took Uzgand, Barchinligkant and Ashnas. Chin Timur was sent to negotiate with the inhabitants of Zand, but they treated him badly. Zand could not hold out very long either and was soon taken, but only those who had ill-treated Chin Timur were killed. Ali Khwaja Bokhara was appointed Governor.

The following year Juchi attacked Khwarezm and Yanikent fell without offering much resistance. The towns seized by the Mongols did not necessarily remain in their hands for long, but this did not worry them. The strategy they were pursuing was to crush the resistance of the main forces, after which the task of overcoming the smaller powers would become easy.

An army of five thousand marched to Banakatpar, where they succeeded in taking the town after defeating the Turkish soldiers under Ialgumli, who had offered some resistance. They then joined Chengiz in Samarkand.

Chengiz now sent an army of fifty thousand, including twenty thousand Mongols to take Fargana. The ruler of the city, Timur Malik, feeling that resistance was useless, took shelter in an island in the midst of the Sir Darya, but he had to abandon it as the Mongol army was fast building a bridge across the river. With his men and provisions on boats, he fled in the darkness of the night. Despite their best efforts the Mongols could not stop him. Although his provisions were exhausted he managed to reach Khwarezm and continued to fight for Jalaluddin, who had succeeded Mohammed.

There were occasions when certain individuals in the Muslim armies exhibited exceptional bravery, though such instances were rare. Their armies could not stand against the organised might of the Mongols.. The Mongol army, on the other hand could not boast of many heroes, but their forces as a whole showed exemplary discipline and sense of organisation.

The End of Mohammed

After the conquest of Samarkand, Chengiz reorganised his armies as follows : one for Khojend and Fargana ; one for Bakhsh, Talkan and Kulab ; under the command of Alek Noyan and Hazari Yasaur respectively and three under the command of Jebe Subotei and Tokuchra, to pursue the Khwarezmshah. Earlier a large part of the Karakhitai battalions had crossed over to Chengiz and divulged to him all the weakness of the Shah.

The Sultan fled from the banks of the Vakshu before the armies of Jebe and of the others could reach him, but the Mongols crossed the Vakhshu as easily as they had crossed the Sir Darya. They had evolved a method of negotiating rivers by means of wooden rafts held together by the hides of cattle. On these they placed all their men and provisions. Jumping on to these rafts they pushed their horses into the river and as the horses swam they held on to their tails.

On the 18th of April, 1220, the Khwarezmshah, who had by this time reached Neshapor, learnt that the Mongols had crossed the Vakhshu. Without even a day's halt he moved on to Teheran and then to Kajwin, where his son was waiting with an army of thirty thousand. Jebe and the others who were pursuing him, had a somewhat smaller force at their command. So this was a golden opportunity to face and defeat them. But the Khwarezmshah did not know how to make the best use of his opportunities. Hearing that the Mongol armies were closing in behind him, he sent his wife and other womenfolk to the fortress of Karun and then pushed on towards Baghdad. Here again, he disregarded the advice of Nasratuddin Hajarasp Luristani to take a stand behind the Luristani mountains with the help of the Luris, Persians and Shulis.

Jebe and Subotei, in strict accordance with the instructions of their master, did not pause in order to sack and plunder the towns that came in their way, but kept up a steady pursuit of the Sultan. Subotei took Teheran without any difficulty, but the Sultan was fleeing towards Hamdan and had left before the Mongol forces reached the place. There was a moment when the Mongol soldiers actually met the Sultan, but they could not recognise him. They loosed some arrows, one of which wounded the Sultan who then took shelter in the fortress of Karun, but by the time the Mongols had sourrounded the fort, the Sultan had already left. Finally he was caught during the siege of Daulatabad near Hamdan, but although he somehow managed to extricate himself from the encirclement, he lost most of his soldiers. This was the only clash that took place. Though the Sultan's forces were stronger than those of his pursuers he refused to fight and kept on retreating. When winter came the Mongols attacked Azerbaijan and destroyed Arbdil and Mugan on the shores of the Caspian Sea, fighting the Georgians as they went.

In the end Mohammed took refuge in an island near Gurgan, which may have been the one which is now known as Ashurade. When he reached this place he was already afflicted with a disease of the kidneys, and on his deathbed he lavishly distributed titles and estates to his followers, but he lacked even a piece of cloth to serve as his shroud. A Russian historian has written of him : "Thus died the monarch who had brought the vast Selzuk Empire under his control, but who showed a lamentable weakness before the Mongols."

In Khwarezmshah, Islam had had its last opportunity of uniting all the Islamic countries, including newly-conquered India, under one Empire. But Khwarezmshah had owed his success to the weakness of his adversaries, for he altogether lacked the ability of Chengiz Khan. Not only did Chengiz

Khan possess remarkable patience and masterly organising powers, but he had a magnetic personality which caused his followers to be devoted to him. As for the Khorezmshah he lacked the qualities of a successful commander and even antagonised his own mother.

Jalaluddin (1220-1231)

If Jalaluddin had been the Khwarezmshah instead of his father, the Mongols might not have found things so easy, but when he actually came to the throne the vast Khwarezmian empire had already been breaking and his armies were scattered. In 1220, the whole of Antarved was in the hands of Chengiz and in the autumn of that year he attacked Termiz. The town held out for eleven days, but eventually had to submit in the face of volleys from the Mongol catapults. The customary punishment was meted out—destruction of the town and the massacre of its inhabitants.

The winter of 1220-21 was spent on the banks of the Vakshu. Later, Jagtei was to build a capital in this place and to call it "Saliserai."

Khwarezm—the Centre of Learing

Chengiz was fighting the Khwarezmshah, but the brunt of the fighting took place outside Khwarezm proper. In Khwarezm, Turkan Khatun was in control with her Turkish soldiers.

Khwarezm was a prosperous province which had become a centre of culture and learning. It is true that in the earlier stages Arab culture had made some contribution to the development of human thought, Philosophy and science but the Muslims prized fanaticism above culture and above everything and it was this fanaticism that was the driving and inspiring force behind their conquest and the reason why they believed in destroying rather than creating. But the province of Khwarezm was a centre of the culture that had developed in the course of the past few centuries. One of the great Khwarezmian thinkers of this period was Sheheristani, who seemed to have followed in the footsteps of the Greek philosophers and refused to be blinded by dogmatism.

The poet Fakharuddin and the great teacher Shahabuddin also lived in Khwarezm. The latter had built a vast library, which was a treasure house of learning. When the Mongols attacked Khwarezm, he had to leave the town and was able to carry only a few of his books with him. This collection was ultimately destroyed and lost to the world.

The fall of Khwarezm

Chengiz knew that the Khatun who had under her control so vast and prosperous a province as Khwarezm and a powerful Turkish army, could be a source of trouble. He, therefore, sent an emissary to her, saying : "I have no quarrel with you, but only with your son.'' When the Khatun came to know that Mohammed had fled across the Vakshu, she decided to follow him. When she took shelter in the fortress of Ilal it was surrounded by the Mongols and ultimately it too fell. All the princesses were divided up by the Mongol commanders among themselves. The Khatun was taken to Mongolia, where she survived until 1232.

After the departure of the Khatun, Ali Kuhe Durugan took over the Royal treasury and other things. Later, prince Jalaluddin and others, also joined him. Deposing Ujlag Shah, who had seized the throne, Jalaluddin himself assumed control of the administration. Learning that the ruler of Khurasan revolted Jalaluddin rushed to quel the revolt. Even when the Mongols were at the door their internal quarrels did not cease. Within three days of his departure, news of the approach of Mongol troops came and Ujlag, and Akshah fled from Khwarezm.

With the departure of the quarrelling princes, the commanders got together and prepared to defend Gurganch. Some historians are of the opinion that one of them, Khumer Tagin, proclaimed himself Sultan. For the conquest of the town Chengiz sent a large army. Khwarezm was approached from the south-west by Jugtei and Ugtei and from the North-east by Juchi.

The Mongols had to pay a heavy price for the conquest of Gurganch. They lost thousands of their soldiers in the attempt to take the town, and even after they had entered it they had to fight for every street and every house before the inhabitants were forced to surrender. As the capture of the town had cost them so much, the Mongols were determind to mete out exemplary punishment. They massacred all the inhabitants, and not content with this, they broke open the dams and flooded the city, so that those who escaped the Mongol sword perished by flood. Every building was razed to the ground by the flood-waters which also destroyed many other towns in Khwarezm.

In April, 1221, the Mongols captured Gurganch, and thereafter, Jugtei and Ugtei joined Chengiz, who was beseiging Talkan.

Jalaluddin the fugitive

Jalaluddin attacked the Mongol garrison of seven hundred in Nus and massacred them. His brothers Ujlag and Akhshah escaped, but were later captured by Mongol troops and killed. After spending a few days in Nus, Jalaluddin left the town on the 6th of February 1221. He wanted to fortify and defend Jujan, but the inhabitants, fearing Mongol reprisals objected, and Jalaluddin pushed forward and was later joined by Aminulmulk at the head of ten thousand soldiers. Their combined forces then went on to Ohazni via Kandahar. In 1221, Chengiz occupied Balakh. At first the people submitted, but later there was a revolt. This led to the destruction of the town at the hands of Mongols who then began the seige of Nusratkoh, which continued for nine months.

The Quarrels in Ghazni

Ghazni had been the capital of the Goris for so long that it contained more Goris than Turks. The quarrel between the Turks and the Goris was long standing one and because the Khwarzemshah was a Turk, the Turks considered themselves superior to the Goris. Now that the Turks were fleeing before the Mongols, the Goris however, began to pluck up courage, but a constant feud had developed between rulers of the two tribes. Such was the state of affairs when Jalaluddin and Aminulmulk marched in with their thirty thousand men and were joined by the commanders Akrak, Ajim Malik, the Afghan leader, Muzaffar Malik, and the Karluk leader Hasan.

Jalaluddin's Success

With this heterogeneous army, Jalaluddin set about preparing to resist the Mongols. He set up his camp in Parwan, pounced upon Mongol army which had laid siege to Bahijan and destroyed them. Chengiz Khan sent his commander Shiki to face Jalaluddin, but he too was defeated and his soldiers cruelly massacred. After this victory considerable booty was taken, but as a quarrel broke out over the division of the spoils, Akruk, Ajim and Muzaffar, left the Sultan and only Aminulmulk remained loyal to him.

News of the defeat did not perturb Chengiz in the least. His only comment was : "Shiki was too confident of success. He has never experienced defeat. Let us hope this will make him more careful in future." Talkan had been taken by this time and Chengiz was now free to march himself. Bereft of his three generals Jalaluddin was in no position to face Chengiz ; he, therefore, retreated up to the borders of the Indus. After the conquest of Talkan, Chengiz reached Bamyan, where he met with fierce resistance. He lost his beloved grandson Mutigin, the son of Jagtei in this battle, and in his rage Chengiz destroyed the town and renamed it Mobalig, the town of sin.

Ghazni was captured without any opposition and Chengiz marched up to the banks of Indus.

Before he was able to complete his preparations, Jalaluddin was forced to wage a decisive battle near the confluence of the Nilab and the Indus. Although the Muslim army fought under the command of their Sultan with such courage that at one stage they even forced Chengiz Khan to retreat, the battle ultimately went against them. Jalaluddin's eight-year-old son fell into the hands of the Mongols and was killed and in order to preserve his wife and other womenfolk from capture, they were drowned in the Indus. He himself crossed the Indus on horseback and escaped. Chengiz did not try to cross the Indus at that time. In the following year he invaded Multan, but the severe heat forced him to turn back. The year 1222, was spent by the Mongols in the conquest of the hilly areas of Afghanistan.

The Quelling of the Khurasan Revolt

After the conquest of Talkan, Chengiz sent his son Tuluyu to occupy Khurasan. The Khwarezmians were still contending for power among themselves, which helped to make Tuluyu's task easier. Within three months, Merv, Neshapor and Hirat, were taken, not to speak of the smaller towns. In each case the bulk of the inhabitants were massacred, only the skilled artisans being spared, because they were the producers of wealth. In most cases the Mongols appointed joint governors, one being a local Muslim noble and the other a Mongol commander.

In the latter half of 1221, a rumour spread that the Islamic Sultan had won a great victory over the Mongols. This led to a revolt in a number of towns in Khurasan, and Ziauddin was sent from Merv to Saraksh to crush the revolt. Just at this time, Kush Tegin Pahelwan, the garrison commander of Jalaluddin came on the scene and as he was joined by the criminial elements of the city, Ziauddin had to flee from the place along with other Mongols. Kush Tagin reorganised the city and within a short time became powerful enough to attack Bokhara and drive out the Mongol Governor.

It was not till 1222, that the Mongols were able to suppress the revolt. After they had retaken Merv there was a general massacre of the inhabitants, which was carried out with greater ferocity than ever before, a hundred thousand of the inhabitants being put to death. As soon as the Mongol commander left the city there was another revolt. Tajuddin Omar seized the towns of Alivard, Khokan and Merv. For the third time the Mongol commander, Kutku Noyon, arrived on the scene with his Mongol, Khalji and Afghan soldiers and suppressed the revolt.

The Triumphal March to the West

Chengiz had absolute confidence in his army and he knew that after the fall of his provisional capital, Samarkand, Mohammed would not be able to hold out much longer, so he sent two of his commanders, Chepe and Subotei, to hunt him out. Leaving Samarkand in April 1220, they went to Balakh, Neshapor, Teheran and Hamdan, but in the autumn, while resting on the shores of the Caspian, they came to learn of Mohammed's death. They then advanced towards the Caucasus and attacked Georgia. Their next step was to invade Russia and the Russian commander fell fighting for his country, while the remnants of the Russian army fled along the Dnieper. In the Crimea, Chepe was wounded, but managed to take strong fortress before he died. These two Mongol commanders might have marched across the whole of Europe, conquering every city on the way, but they were recalled by Chengiz. Meanwhile, Subtei had discovered the rich pastures of the Southern Province of Russia and he returned later to conquer Moscow.

Mongol War Strategy

The Mongol Army

What the Mongol army accomplished within the seven years from 1219-26, may be said to be one of the marvels of military history. With only one hundred thousand men Chengiz conquered the area up to the Caspian Sea, while for the conquest of the whole region between the Sea of China and the Dnieper, he employed only two hundred-and-fifty thousand soldiers, not all of whom were Mongols. His armies grew like a show ball as they rolled along and were joined by Turkmans, Kipchiaks and the ancestors of the modern Koreans and Manchus.

Mongol Weapons

Fire-balls containing kerosene were employed by the Mongols in their assault on Gurgan and in 1211, we hear of their use of gunpowder. The Chinese had all along made use of gunpowder for their fireworks, but the Mongols were undoubtedly the first to employ it as weapon of war, though they made use of it mainly to frighten the enemy and to set fire to buildings, for they had not yet learnt the secret of the cannon proper. By 1246, they had conquered the whole of Central Europe and the German, Swartz, who invented the cannon as we know it, lived in Freiburg, which was only three hundred miles from a Mongol cantonment. There is, therefore, little doubt that he got his idea from the fire-gun used by the Mongols. It was the cannons which were borne by their ships that enabled the Europeans to conquer the world. The age of gunpowder, which has culminated in the atom bomb, may therefore be said to have originated with the Mongols, and Babar would probably never have been able to conquer India if he had not learnt the use of cannon from Turkish artisans who had been to Europe.

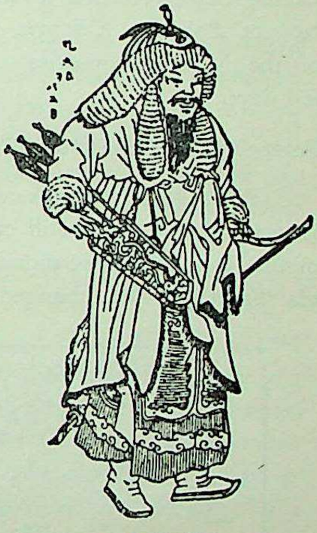
Hunting

Just as chess was employed in India to train the mind in military strategy, hunting was considered by the Mongols as an exercise for their soldiers. By encircling animals and by setting up ambushes they learnt the use of ambush in war and the art of encircling the enemy.

Chengiz the Emperor

Chang Chun's Travel Notes (1221-24)

When Chengiz Khan had reached the banks of the Irtish, he came to know of the famous Chinese Chang Chun, a believer in Taoism. Chengiz invited Chang to join him and from the travel notes left by the Chinese priest we get an idea of Central Asia as it was at this period. Chang Chun describes the Mongols as having built new roads and bridges across the rivers. He also visited a number of towns which had been taken by the Mongols and that were being administered by governors of different races. On the 3rd of December, Chang Chun crossed the Jarphasan and entered Samarkand, which had suffered heavily when the Mongols took it. The town was ruled over by a Karakhitai governor, Ahai, who was well-versed in Chinese culture. It was Ahai who acted as interpreter when Chang Chun conversed with Chengiz. Chang stayed in Samarkand on the first occasion until the 26th of April 1222, on the second, from mid-June to the 14th of September and on the third from the beginning of November till the 3rd of December. His account reveals that normal life had been restored in the city. When the muslim priests gave the call for morning prayers, men and women flocked to the mosques, women participating in the prayers alongside the men and those who neglected the prayers were severely punished. During the days of the Ramzan fast, meals were served at night. The most beautiful spot was the western suburb of the town which is now known as Kulemaagyan, and Babar described it as Kule Magak. It was full of fields, lakes and gardens that were more beautiful than any in China. Chang Chun writes that when, on one occasion, he decided to distribute gruel free to the hungry, there was a large gathering of people.

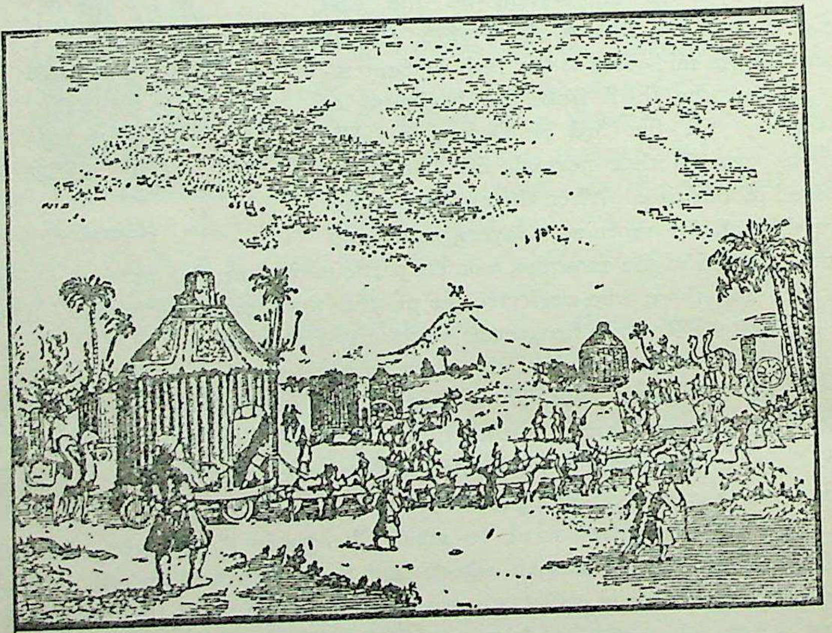


Chengiz

The Chinese priest went to meet Chengiz in April, when the bridge across the Vakhshu at Balakh which had been destroyed by the rebels had been restored by Jagtei. Chengiz was due to arrive from the Hindu Kush. Chang Chun left Samarkand on the 27th of April and crossed the Vakhshu and the Surkhan in boats. Dense forests stood on either side of the river. After crossing the Vakhshu, Chang journeyed for four days and on the 16th of May reached the camp of Chengiz Khan. When Chengiz asked the Chinese priest to reveal to him the secret of the elixir of life which he was reputed to have discovered, Chang Chun replied: "There are means of preserving life, but there is no recipe for immortality." Chengiz did not become angry on receiving his reply, but rather praised the Chinese for his honesty. Chengiz had appointed the 25th day of May as the date for hearing the teachings of the Chinese priest, but before he could do so news of the Muslim revolt reached him. The plan was put off till November. Chang Chun returned to Samarkand, while Chengiz went towards the mountains. On the 28th of September, Chang Chun returned to the Mongol camp, which was situated somewhere east of Balakh. Chengiz was now on his way home after his conquest of the Muslim countries and the Chinese priest stayed with him for a few days.

Return of Chengiz to Mongolia

As Saifuddin Agrak and Azim Malik, the rebel commanders of the Khwarezmshah, were still creating trouble, Chengiz had to wait on the banks of the Indus for three months. Meanwhile he planned to return to Mongolia via Tibet, but later changed his mind and decided to go through Afghanistan.



Mongol Cart

After crossing the Bamyan mountains he reached Belgan, where he spent the summer. The Mongol armies built roads and destroyed mountain fortresses as they went. But the fortress of Gurjistan held out for fifteen months and was taken in the early part of 1223.

According to Chang Chun Chengiz Khan's army crossed the Vakhshu by means of a bridge of boats. On the 20th, 24th and 28th of October, Chengiz listened to the discourses of Chang Chun, which were interpreted by Ahai and that were noted down. In November, they reached Samarkand, where the Chinese priest was accommodated in the old palace of the Sultan. While here, Chengiz met with an accident at the time of hunting and was advised by Chang Chun to give up the hobby.

Chengiz spent a long time in Samarkand and was joined there by his sons Jagtei and Ugtei. In 1223, Chengiz resumed his march towards the North and on the fields of Dulanbashi, his eldest son, Juchi, also joined him. The Mongol armies spent the summer of 1223 in this place. On the lst of April Chang Chun had taken leave of the Khan. The summer of 1224 was spent by Chengiz on the banks of the Irtish and in the Spring of 1225, he returned home in Mongolia.

Death of Juchi

Mongol rule had now been established over the whole of Khurasan and Anturved, and Juchi was given charge of the administration of Khurasan and Majandran. A new town had sprung up near Gurganch, which the Mongols named Urganj. This town stood on the banks of the Vakhshu, which at that time flowed into the Caspian. It exists to this day. Juchi did not return to Mongolia with his father because he was in charge of this vast province. He died in 1227, three months before his father.

The Death of Chengiz (1227)

Even at the age of sixty five Chingiz was strong and healthy, indeed, he enjoyed robust health till the end of his life. He had astonishing self-control and was a strict disciplinarian. Although he could be cruel when necessary, did not find delight in causing pain. He strongly disapproved dishonesty and his subordinates never dared deceive him. He did not indulge in excessive drinking. His harem contained beauties belonging to every country, from China to Russia and from India to outer Mongolia, but he was not one to spend all his time in the company of women. He was a nomad who wished his successors to continue the simple ways of their race. He was under the influence of Buddhist culture.

The sense of discipline and organisation created by Chengiz had a lasting effect, and it was due to this even after his death his vast empire did not break up.

Chengiz died in Mongolia in August 1227, at the age of seventy two. He left his heirs a vast empire stretching from the Pacific Ocean to Yuksin in the west, a huge well-organised army and a developed political admimistration. His subjects included Chinese, Tunguts, Afghans, Irans, Turks and numerous other races and tribes. He divided the empire into four parts for his four sons, but at the same time made it clear that over the whole empire there should only be one Khakan.

The Tomb of Chengiz

It is not known exactly where Chengiz was buried though the Khanula Mountain, near Ulan Bator, is one of the spots where he is supposed to lie. Another place which is thought to contain his tomb is Yetjinkro in Aurdus province on the Hwang Ho.

The Death of Jalaluddin

Jalaluddin, the Khwarezmshah, escaped from the banks of the Indus and engaged in many skirmishes with the Mongols to be killed in 1231 by a Kurd in Iran.

The Mongol Empire marked the beginning of a new age in Central Asia. In fact it marked the beginning of a new era in Europe too. It was the Mongols who introduced printing and gunpowder into Europe, and these were later developed by the Europeans and helped them to dominate the world. The Mongols humbled the pride of Islam, which had dreamed of world conquest. Unlike the Muslims, the Mongols were not intolerant and they promoted talented persons of all the races to important positions within their empire. Treachery was unknown amongst them. They understood the importance of trade and commerce and never killed those artisans who were the producers of the country's wealth. They helped to break down national barriers and recruited people of all countries into their army. They were no doubt cruel, but cruelty was for them a part of military strategy, a means of setting an example to others. They destroyed many towns, but once victory had been won they helped to restore them. They built roads and bridges, which helped rapid expansion of trade and commerce.

The Yassa

The rules laid down by Chengiz are known as the Yassa. Timur and Babar became Muslims, but as far as politics and administration were concerned they followed in the footsteps of their ancestor, Chengiz, and based themselves on the Yassa.

Here are some of the laws of the Yassa :

1. It is laid down that people should believe in only one Lord of the Heaven and the Earth. It is He who gives life and death, poverty and riches.

2. Religious leaders, advisers, priests, keepers of mosques, doctors, and those who bathe corpses, should be given free food by the state.

3. He who proclaims himself the Khan without having been elected by the princes, the nobles, officers, and other Mongol chiefs, should be given the death penalty.

4. It is foridden for the chiefs of tribes subject to the Mongols to adopt inportant titles.

5. It is forbidden to come to an agreement with any king, any race or tribe, which refuses to accept Mongol suzerainty.

6. The soldiers in the army should be divided into groups of 10, 200, 1,000, 10,000 and so on. This system makes it easy for the commander to establish his control over the whole army.

7. As soon as the battle starts, the soldiers should get their weapons from the officers under whom they are serving. The soldiers should keep their weapons in good condition and have them inspected by their officers before the battle.

8. The penalty for looting, without permission of the commander of the army, is death. But once the permission has been given, the officers and soldiers should get equal opportunities and whatever each one could take is his, provided he handed over the share due for the Khan to his superior officer.

9. To keep the army in training, a big hunt should be organised every winter. The people of the country should therefore be forbidden to hunt between the months of March and September.

10. Animals should have their chests pierced to be killed and the hunter should take out the heart of the animal with his hand.

11. It is permitted to eat the entrails of the animal and drink its blood.

12. Concessions and privileges should be given to officers and chiefs as specified in the list.

13. He who does not participate in fighting should work for the state for a stipulated period of time without wages.

14. He who steals a horse, or anything of the same value, is liable to death sentence. He who steals less will receive, 7, 17 or 27 lashes, according to the nature of the theft. But he may be exempted from whipping if he pays a fine amounting to nine times the value of the article stolen.

15. No one in the Empire can employ a Mongol as his slave or servant. Except under special circumstances, all Mongols will have to serve in the army.

16. He who aids a foreign slave to escape, or does not prevent him from doing so, will be put to death.

17. Every man can buy a wife for himself. It is forbidden to marry within the family, or those in the first or second degree of consanguinity. A

man can marry two sisters and keep an equal number of mistresses. A woman can keep property and dispose of it with the permission of her husband. The children of mistresses shall be considered as legitimate as the children of married wives. The first child of the first wife should be considered above all the rest. He will be the heir.

18. The penalty for immoral conduct is death.

19. It is forbidden to bathe, or wash one's clothes in running water when there is a flash of lightning.

20. If one family has a male child and another a female, they can be united by marriage ties.

21. Spies, false witnesses, moral degenerates, and magicians, will be punished with death.

22. Those officers who do not report to duty, or who do not report to the Khan on being called by him, especially those in far-off provinces, will be put to death.

It cannot be said for certain whether all these laws were laid down by Chengiz himself, but it can be surmised that most of them owe their origin to him. These laws have been collected by Labruva from the writings of Persian historians and from the works of Carpini and Rubrik, but this is by no means a complete list.

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